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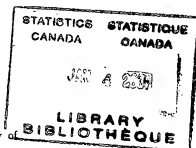
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Census Monograph No. 9

Dependency of Youth

(A study based on the Census of 1931 and supplementary data)

by
J. E. ROBBINS



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PREFACE

The present study is one of several analysing and interpreting data obtained by the decennial census. It draws freely on related statistics from other sources, especially those compiled in the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, in an attempt to sketch the main outlines of the youth problem that has come so much to the fore in recent years.

Economic consequences of the lengthened dependency of youth are given more space than social consequences, not because the latter are considered of lesser importance, but because there is less of a statistical nature recorded concerning them. Moreover, no attempt is made to offer a solution to the problem discussed, but the first step toward solution of any problem is an understanding of it, and it is hoped that the study will contribute something to this end.

The monograph has been written by J. E. Robbins, Ph.D., Chief of the Education Branch of the Bureau, assisted by Mr. M. A. Alpert, B.A., and Miss Catherine Revell.

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NOVEMBER 22, 1937.

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SUMMARY

LENGTHENING OF THE DEPENDENCY OF YOUTH

A study of the earnings of Canadian wage-earners in the last three decennial census years indicates that the average young person on reaching the age of 20 in 1911 had earned twice as much as those reaching 20 in 1931. In the latter year the average accumulated earnings of a person's teens were equal to slightly less than one year's earnings of an adult male; in 1921 they had been the equivalent of 1.4 adult years, and in 1911 had equalled two. The actual accumulated earnings of young people on reaching their twentieth birthday under conditions of 1931 were \$892, a sum sufficient to have supported them for two years at the rate of \$37 per month. It might be said that they were independent on reaching the age of 18 in 1931, the age of 17 in 1921, and 16 in 1911.

A comparison of school attendance records in the same three censuses shows that the average child spent two more years at school in 1931 than in 1911. Whereas the child attended school for 6.58 full years under conditions of 1911 (10 months' attendance being taken as a full year), he spent 7.58 years at school in 1921 and 8.55 years in 1931. The same two-year increase is evident in the census records of the number of children attending school for some time during the census years; the average child under conditions of 1911 was enrolled in school for 7.96 years, for 9.13 years in 1921, and 9.89 years in 1931. Thus, the two years of added dependency as revealed by earnings were spent in school.

In 1911, the age for leaving school was 14.38, the age for achieving economic independence 16 years. The former rose to 16.25 in 1931, the latter to 18 years. Thus, there has been a continuous gap of approximately 1.75 years between the age of leaving school and the age when the young person is able to earn enough to support himself. School records of age of pupils in the years since 1931 indicate that the long-term trend is not yet broken. Pupils are remaining in school up to still older ages. If the tendency continues unchecked, young people will in a few years be dependent on parents at the age of 20.

The loss of independence has taken place entirely among young men and boys. Girls have actually gained in earnings while young men up to the age of 25 have lost 35 p.c. since 1911 and 27.5 p.c. between 1921 and 1931.

This loss of the male youth is only partially the result of being replaced in gainful occupations by girls and young women of the same age, females under 25 years of age accounting for only 6 p.c. of the 27.5 p.c. loss during the decade 1921-31, and 7 p.c. of the 35 p.c. loss for the twenty-year period. A greater part of the loss was apparently to women over 25 years of age who obtained their jobs before the young men were old enough to work and have not relinquished them. These older women began at a higher salary than young girls do now and, during the decade 1921-31, were earning from two to five times as much as the younger ones.

Social effects of the increased dependency are suggested by the unusual fall in the marriage rate among the young people between 20 and 24 years of age (20 p.c. for men and 13 p.c. for women) as well as in the 100 p.c. increase in the illegitimate birth rate from 1921 to 1931.

The reduction in the earnings of young men of ages 20-24 between 1921 and 1931 was almost double the reduction for those in the 25-64-years age group, \$233 as compared with \$127. The earnings of the average woman in the younger age group went down \$87 a year while the woman in the older age group gained \$53 over the decade. The loss in the wages of the younger women was offset in part by the greater relative number of young women gainfully occupied, i.e., individuals worked for less but the group as a whole gained.

The drop in average wages for all ages between 1921 and 1931 was probably not a real loss since they fell only 12 p.c. while prices fell 18 p.c. Earners on the whole were probably better off, except for the youngest and oldest workers.

The development of large-scale enterprise has increased the proportion of wage-earners to independent workers. In 1911 only 60 p.c. of the gainfully occupied were wage-earners, but 80 p.c. of the new positions created since then have been in this category, with the result that the young

men have been forced into the labour market where they have been obliged to compete with women and girls for office jobs and with more mature native and immigrant adults for heavier work. Girls and immigrants have obtained more than their share of wage-earning and salaried positions.

An attempt is made to gain a conception of the actual number of boys and young men of ages 15-24 lacking gainful occupation in 1936. The combined percentage of those without work due either to loss of employment or to never having been gainfully occupied appears to be over 16 p.c.; in round numbers, this group approximates 155,000, or one and one-half times the supply of new workers coming of age annually. Since nearly all of this group are non-farm boys, the average length of idleness for boys living in the city appears to be about two years.

Besides these there is the large number occupied on the home farm without making money. About 70 p.c. of farm workers are not receiving wages. These and many who are in school waiting for jobs have to be considered as possible applicants for new positions.

THE COST OF REARING A CANADIAN CHILD TO THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE

An attempt is made to estimate the cost of different items involved in raising a child to the age of independence. It appears that about \$1,550 is required, under conditions of 1931, to feed a child until he is 18 years of age, while clothing for that same period costs about \$800 and shelter over \$2,000. Health, recreational and social costs total about \$600, schooling about \$750.

The cost of an elementary schooling to the community is \$500 per pupil while a high school education requires about \$1,050. The cost of supporting a student in the universities of Canada is much higher, \$550 being required to pay for one year's schooling. Although only 3 p.c. of the young people attend university, the high cost of such an education raised the average cost to the community to \$690 per average child. When the cost of books and other school equipment as met directly by the parents is added, the total sum required to educate the average child is in the neighbourhood of \$750.

The total cost of rearing a child until his eighteenth birthday is then \$5,750 of which \$4,350 or 77 p.c. is spent on satisfying elementary physical needs, 10 p.c. on health, recreational and social costs and 13 p.c. on education. It costs no more to raise six children and give them an average schooling than to raise seven completely illiterate.

How long does it take the average child to repay society for the cost of his rearing, i.e., how many years does he require to earn an income sufficient to balance the amount expended on him during the period of his earlier dependency? Although the young man would be unable to repay the \$5,750 by the time of his marriage, at the age of 27, the combined earnings of his wife and himself equal at age 31 the principal outlay for their rearing but do not account for the interest which has accumulated thereon. The average man in Canada was earning \$927 in 1930-31, which meant that he would have had to spend his total salary for six years to repay the expense incurred by society in rearing him for his first eighteen years.

In the provinces where there are more children in proportion to the rest of the population, their cost must fall more heavily on the comparatively smaller adult population. This is reflected in the shorter average schooling of children in these provinces. Quebec, which has the largest proportion of its population under 18 years of age (43.27 p.c.) has the lowest average school attendance (7.78 years), while British Columbia and Ontario, with only 30.11 and 34.67 p.c. of their respective populations under 18 years of age have an average length of attendance of 9.15 and 9.20 years respectively.*

Rural families are larger in size than are urban, (3.22 children per average rural family to 2.68 per urban)† but many rural children go to the cities as they reach maturity. This trend is a steady one,‡ 50.14 p.c. of the population at 10 years of age living in rural districts as compared with 41.26 p.c. at the age of 30. It would appear that about 15 p.c. of the rural-raised children become urban dwellers. Since schooling amounts to only 13 p.c. of the total cost of raising children, it is of interest to note that if urban dwellers paid the entire cost of schooling all rural children, they would only be paying the equivalent of the cost of rearing those who in adult years become their residents and supporters.

*See 1931 Census Monograph *Illiteracy and School Attendance*, Chap. VI, by M. C. MacLean.

†See 1931 Census Monograph *The Canadian Family*, Chap. X, by A. J. Pelletier, F. D. Thompson and A. Rochon.

‡See 1931 Census Monograph *The Rural and Urban Composition of the Canadian Population* by S. A. Cudmore and H. G. Caldwell.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE COST OF SCHOOLING

Although it amounts to only one-seventh of the total cost of raising a child, the cost of schooling is the part which receives the most attention, probably because it is made out of public funds. Chapter III presents some broad considerations to help in judging the propriety of expenditure on schools in recent years.

Estimates, based upon two entirely different standards of measurement indicate that Canada's National Income in 1930 was somewhere between \$4,600,000,000 and \$4,750,000,000. Hence, \$165,000,000, the sum spent annually on the schools in recent years, amounts to only 3.5 p.c. of the annual national expenditure. About 55 p.c. of our annual income seems to be spent on satisfying the primary wants of man—food, clothing and shelter—including a certain amount of indirect taxes. Direct taxes, from which the greater part of school funds are obtained, amount to 7 p.c. Allowing 8 p.c. put aside as savings, 30 p.c. remains for expenditure on other things, including indirect taxes on them. The amount spent for churches, motion pictures, health, etc. is indicated.

The estimated value of Canadian schools and universities is approximately \$600,000,000, a sum equal to about 2 p.c. of our total estimated national wealth. The indebtedness of the schools amounts to more than half their estimated value.

On making a comparison of the cost of education in 1913, the last entirely pre-War year, with that of 1931, an increase of 160 p.c. is noted, \$54,000,000 being spent in the former year on publicly-controlled elementary and secondary schools in contrast to the \$140,000,000 spent in the latter. Since the population increased by only 40 p.c. in the same period, it might appear that education is more expensive now than formerly, but on closer examination, it is seen that such a conclusion, based on a comparison of dollars, is misleading.

Among the factors tending to exaggerate the rise in the cost of education is the changed value of the dollar. The price index in Canada rose from 66 in 1913 (1926=100) to 89.6 in 1931. Thus, in inverse proportion to the lower purchasing value of the dollar, the cost of schooling rose 91 p.c. and not 160 p.c. Still another factor is the failure to take into consideration the increase in enrolment from 1,438,000 to 2,214,000 which lowered the average cost per pupil by 30 p.c. Average daily attendance rose from 942,000 to 1,756,000, which viewed in the light of the other two factors, the "real" value of the dollar and the increase in annual enrolment, shows a net increase in cost of 2 p.c. over an eighteen-year period. The school year was lengthened by 10 days which made schooling in 1931, in terms of the reduced purchasing value of the dollar, even cheaper than it was in 1913. Lastly, in comparing the quantity of schooling given for those two years, we must consider the increased proportion of pupils who are obtaining secondary schooling. It costs twice as much per year to educate a pupil in the high school as in the elementary school. Therefore, education, in terms of "real" dollars, amount of schooling received and type of services rendered, was 10 p.c. cheaper in 1931 than in 1913.

In addition to the pupils getting more instruction per dollar, they are probably getting a better quality of instruction. The teachers' qualifications are much higher. In an examination of the statistics on teachers' professional standing, it is seen that whereas only 17 p.c. of the teachers in 1913 had first class certificates, 38 p.c. were in possession of them in 1931. The proportion of teachers holding second class certificates rose from 50 to 55 p.c., while certificates of the third class or lower were held by only 7 p.c. of the teaching body in contrast to the 33 p.c. in 1913. Of the latter class 9 p.c. had no recognized professional standing in 1913 whereas almost all the teachers had a recognized standing in 1931. This higher standard is not only evident in the certification but also in the higher qualifications required to obtain the same certificates. Higher academic standing, more normal school training and summer school courses have all contributed to improve the teachers' professional equipment. The tendency of teachers to stay in the profession for a longer time, as well as better buildings, equipment and facilities must have tended to improve the quality of education given to the modern younger generation.

Although the pupil was given a better deal for his money in 1931 both in quantity and in quality, it does not mean that it was easier for the taxpayer to support the schools. In terms of the purchasing power of the dollar, school costs went up 91 p.c. in the period. Although there were more gainfully occupied persons to share this burden, it cost the average gainfully occupied person 41 p.c. more in the later year.

Due to the unequal distribution of population and of children, educational costs fall more heavily on the shoulders of the rural population. Violent fluctuations in the prices of primary

products affect the smaller urban and the rural communities more acutely than they do the large urban centres depending on a more diversified economy. The only solution to this problem seems to lie in the creation of a larger unit of school support with the cost equalized over all the communities in the unit, urban and rural, large and small. Although the province would be the most effective unit, two things stand in the way—the hesitancy of the local school boards to yield their autonomy to Provincial Governments and the inability of the provinces to assume the greater financial burden involved. A redistribution of responsibilities or powers of taxation among municipalities, provinces and Dominion may be necessary to solve the latter problem.

THE FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES OF CANADIAN CHILDREN AND THEIR EFFECT ON EDUCATION

Chapter IV, in attempting to discover the influence of different family circumstances on the dependency of children, has to be confined mainly to statistics of school attendance and illiteracy, as the chief available guide to their circumstances. Children are considered in three main categories: (1) those living with one or both of their own parents; (2) those in families other than their own, *i.e.*, guardianship children; (3) children in institutions.

Children living with both parents form almost 95 p.c. of all children below school age and nearly 90 p.c. of those at school ages. About two-thirds of the remaining children live with either their father or mother.

Children living with their mother only have a slightly better school attendance than children living with both parents, in contrast to which, children living with their father only have a poorer attendance record. While the literacy of children living with their mother only is not as good as that of children residing with both parents, it is nevertheless superior to that of children living with their father only.

Where the parents are both literate, there is a high degree of literacy among their offspring. When only one of the parents is literate, illiteracy is fifteen times as great as when both parents can read and write, but when both parents are illiterate, there is forty times as much illiteracy as in the first case.

Children of immigrant parents, including those who came from Continental Europe, are less illiterate than are native Canadians. Those whose parents are from the British Isles have the best record, with those of United States parentage coming next.

The distribution of guardianship children among the provinces varies, the Maritimes having a higher proportion of children who are not living with their own parents than the other sections of Canada. Among the factors which affect the distribution are the differing rates of illegitimate births, maternal mortality, rural-urban distribution of population and the extent to which orphans can be accommodated in the different provinces. The age distribution reveals that there are more orphans in the higher age brackets than in the lower, a natural occurrence.

Children living with their own parents have a better school attendance record than have guardianship children; there is also less illiteracy to be found among the former group. Relatives give their wards a better schooling than do strangers, while women are better guardians in this respect than men, and older men have a better record than young men who have to care for their younger brothers and sisters.

There is more illiteracy among children of illiterate guardians than among literate ones. Since close to one-tenth of the guardians are illiterate, this tendency is significant. Children with guardians coming from the British Isles have the best record of schooling, while native Canadian guardians are most neglectful in educating their wards.

Children living in institutions such as orphanages, hospitals and shelters are more numerous at school ages than at younger ages. They are fewer in number than those living with foster parents. Quebec has relatively more than the other provinces, possibly because of the existence of a larger number of such institutions in that province.

The special 1931 Census of Institutions shows that there were approximately 35,000 children under the care or supervision of charitable institutions of whom two-thirds were under 15 years of age. Of these 35,000, 19,643 were in residence at these institutions, 7,085 were working for wages and were living in private homes while being under the surveillance of the institutions, 3,479 were quartered in private homes free of charge, while 2,300 had their board in private

homes under supervision of the Children's Aid Societies. The same census disclosed 2,731 under the age of 15 in the mental hospitals of Canada while the reformatories housed almost 1,000 children who were under that age.

Orphanages account for a large proportion of those living in institutions, and there is more detailed information on the schooling of their *protégés*. Some conduct schools while others send the children to the ordinary publicly-controlled schools. A comparison of the age-by-grade records seems to show that orphanage children do not make out as well as other children in their school work. Their average grade falls more and more behind the average for others as they become older, but this is probably because the brighter children tend to be placed in private homes.

YOUTHFUL DEPENDENCY RESULTING FROM DEFECTS, PHYSICAL, MENTAL AND SOCIAL

Chapter V indicates something of the numbers and circumstances of youth who are dependent to an exceptional degree, by reason of defects. Blindness is first considered but it is not often an affliction of the young. There were only 634 people blind under the age of 20 in 1931; among older persons there were 6,679. Less than one-fifth of the blind were gainfully occupied with the average earnings among men being between \$500 and \$600 and those of women between \$300 and \$400. That blindness incapacitates most individuals to the degree that they become entirely dependent is to be seen from the fact that only 37 p.c. of the blind between the ages of 25 and 49 are gainfully occupied. Special schools and special classes have contributed greatly to increase literacy among the blind, as well as to prevent those with poor vision from becoming entirely blind.

Of the 6,767 deaf-mutes recorded in the 1931 Census, 6,000 had suffered from the inability to speak or hear before they had reached the age of 5 while 4,093 had been born deaf and dumb. Almost one-third of the deaf-mutes were in gainful occupations. Not only did the deaf-mutes have a higher percentage of gainfully occupied than the blind in the best earning years but they also earned more. Despite these higher proportions, they were insufficient to make the group as a whole independent.

Schools for the deaf are provided by the Provincial Governments and have a combined enrolment of 1,400 pupils. Special classes for the hard-of-hearing are also contributing to the alleviation of the inconvenience and distress suffered by those handicapped by auditory disabilities.

Although there are no census data on the number suffering from other physical defects, such as loss of the use of limbs and constitutional weaknesses, statistics on special classes in schools and hospitals indicate that they are as numerous as those suffering from defective hearing. In addition to those attending special classes, many, unable to attend these schools, are taking correspondence courses offered by six of the provinces.

Two-thirds of the patients in mental hospitals in 1931 were admitted before they had reached middle life. There are now several institutions for children. Illiteracy is more common among those admitted to the hospitals in their earlier years than among those who have reached maturity prior to admission. This indicates that the causes for incarceration of the younger people are different from those affecting the older people, constitutional defects being a greater factor in the former case, environmental factors in the latter. Almost half of the female inmates are married, but only about one-fourth of the males, a condition which probably has significance in regard to hereditary types of mental cases.

Special classes for mentally defective children are now being conducted in cities from coast to coast, and though they are more expensive per pupil than other classes, it is claimed that the results obtained justify the investment.

Delinquency is to juvenile behaviour what crime is to that of the adult. When leading to incarceration it means dependency. It is more prevalent in urban districts than in rural, with the large city having relatively many more youthful misdemeanours than the town or village. The annual number of convictions for major delinquencies is over 5,000. There has been some increase in proportion to population though not as much as in the case of adult crime. The number under the age of 18 continuously confined to corrective institutions is approximately 2,500, roughly three-fourths boys and one-fourth girls.

CONCLUDING NOTES

The final chapter considers some of the changed relationships of the youth group as a whole to the adult world. It is noted first that in the Dominion as a whole youth has for fifty years constituted a decreasing proportion of the total population. In 1931 there were only 51 persons under the age of 16 for each 100 older, whereas in 1881 there had been 68 per 100. But if we consider the older ages to which young people now remain children, economically speaking, the change in ratio is in the other direction. It is recalled that they were dependent until 18 in 1931, whereas twenty years earlier dependency had ended at 16. Considered in this way, the ratio of children to adults in post-War years has probably been higher than ever before. At the same time that the real ratio of youths to adults increases, so does the ratio of aged adults to those in middle life.

Old age pensions have been a recognition of the increase in dependency at the upper end of life, but there has been no comparable measure directed against the change at the lower end, even though Canadian industry in the last ten years has absorbed only the youth who have come of age in nine years, and in the last twenty years only those who have come of age in eighteen years. The fact that industry for so long has come 10 p.c. short of using the biological supply of youth, should make it clear that the youth situation is not just a depression phenomenon but a deeply-rooted problem.

Among the better-known solutions that have been attempted or recommended, here or in other countries, are compulsory military service, labour camps, forced retirement of older workers, restrictions on immigration and employment of women. It is hardly possible for this study to express preference among such controversial solutions but a lesser known remedial measure can be described.

In Great Britain a special service to youth is conducted through the medium of the employment service. There is a juvenile section in each employment office which works in close co-operation with the schools, advising young people before as well as after leaving school. For juveniles above school age who are without work, there is in each city a "junior instruction centre," quite distinct from the ordinary school system, being under the supervision of the Department of Labour. Effort is not confined to finding jobs, but attempts to find for each young person the position for which he is best fitted. In short, vocational guidance for youth is organized on a national scale. It might be to the advantage of employers as well as young people in Canada, if it received more attention here.

PART I



CHAPTER I

THE LENGTHENING DEPENDENCY OF YOUTH AND SOME OF ITS IMPLICATIONS

Length of Dependency Indicated by Earnings.—The Census of 1931 showed that there were 296,519 young people under the age of 20 working for a stated wage or salary, and that their aggregate earnings of the year preceding June 1 had been \$101,174,000. A further 162,821 were working, but not for a settled wage, as is often the case of young people helping with the parental farm or business. On the assumption that their earnings were equivalent to the earnings of those who were working for a fixed wage, the total earnings of the year for everyone under the age of 20 must have been \$152,727,000.

Since the number of young people at each single year of age—16, 17, 18, or 19—is about the same, the sum of \$152,727,000 may be considered approximately equal to the accumulated earnings of those who were 19 at any date a few years later than 1931, if the rate of earnings remained the same as in the year recorded by the census. In other words, under conditions of 1930-31 the accumulated earnings of 206,000 young people at age 19 would be \$152,727,000; the average boy or girl at this age has earned \$742.

When referring to age 19 we mean all those who are in their twentieth year, their average age being 19 years and 6 months. In order to know the total earnings when the age of 20 is reached, it is necessary to add an appropriate sum for the last 6 months. As the average annual earnings per person at ages 18 and 19 was \$240, and at ages 20-24 was \$399, the earnings of the 6 months in question would be about \$150, and the average total at the end of the 'teens would accordingly be \$892.

How many years of self-support will \$892 provide? It allows \$37 per month for two years. If young people are independent on \$37 monthly, then their dependency as a group ends with their eighteenth year. Any young person who has tried to get along in recent years on less than \$40 a month away from home will doubtless feel that it is a precarious independence, but the majority are still at home, and their \$37 monthly is probably sufficient to keep them from being a drain on the family purse.

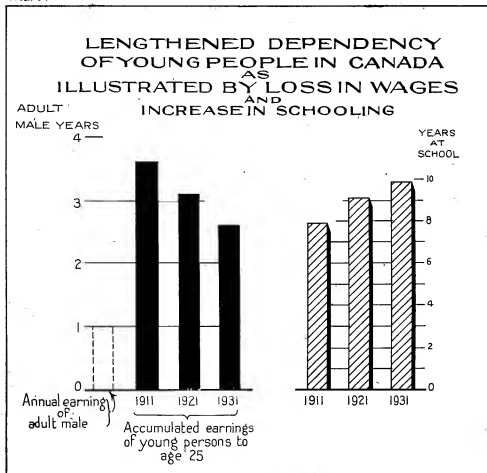
Now contrast this with the record of 1921, when the 279,374 young people under 20 whose wages were recorded earned \$138,817,000. If all of the other 140,450 who were gainfully occupied were earning at the same rate, the total earnings of the year for the young people must have been \$211,966,000. Taking another view of this sum, as we have done with the corresponding amount for 1931, it may be considered the accumulated earnings of about 156,000 young people at age 19, under conditions of 1921. The average young person at age 19 under these conditions had earned \$1,360. In another 6 months, i.e., by the time they had come to the end of their 'teens, they had probably averaged another \$200 apiece, or \$1,560 in all—a sum that is not far short of being double what young people of the same age a decade later had earned.

It is to be remembered, of course, that the cost of living was higher in 1921, that higher earnings were required to pay for a month's self-support. But it is also on record that the average yearly wage for workers at all ages was not very much higher in 1921 than in 1931. In the earlier year it was \$1,057 for men and \$573 for women; in the later year it was \$927 and \$559 respectively. Adult males working for wage or salary in 1921 averaged \$1,124 each, as compared with \$984 in 1931. Thus the earnings of the average young person, boy and girl, on reaching his twentieth birthday in 1921 were equal to the income of a man for 1.4 years, whereas in 1931 they were the equivalent of less than a year (0.9) of adult male earnings.

This ratio of 1.4 to 0.9 is probably as good an index as can be obtained of the decreased independence of the older boys and girls in the decade. To carry it further back and show the relationship with pre-War years, it is unfortunately necessary to compare all the young people up to the age of 24, because the Census of 1911 compiled the earnings of all these in one group. Such a comparison does not show the full extent of the reduced self-support of those under 20, but their circumstances have altered sufficiently to affect the records of the larger group noticeably, and the trend between 1921 and 1931 is seen to be a continuation of the tendency in 1911-21.

Calculating in the same way as for the smaller group, it appears that on the average, each person, male and female, at the age of 24 in 1931 had earned the equivalent of only 2.6 years of adult men's wages, and persons at the same age in 1921 had received 3.1 years of men's earnings, whereas in 1911 they had earned the equivalent of 3.6 years. With this relationship existing between the different years in respect of persons at the age of 24 we can be reasonably certain that on reaching age 20 under conditions of 1911 the average boy or girl had earned about two years of adult men's pay, while as we have seen, conditions of 1931 allowed them less than one. The young people of to-day have probably less than half the economic independence in their 'teens that the pre-War generation had. If we call it two years of self-support in 1931 they must have had at least four years in 1911.

Chart 1

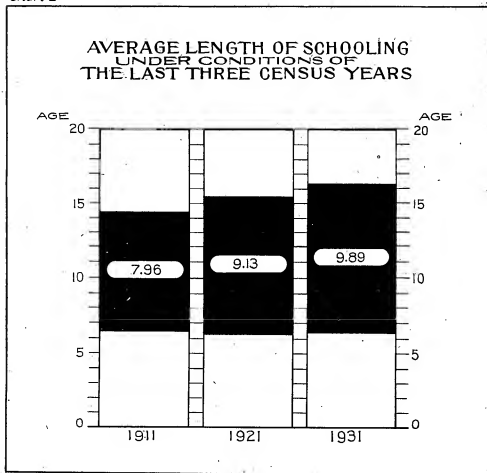


The Evidence of School Attendance Records.—Census records of school attendance confirm the estimate of lengthened dependency made from a study of earnings. Each decennial census ascertains the number of children who have attended school during the preceding school year, and the number of months attended by each. From this information it is possible to calculate the amount of schooling being received per child.* If 10 months of attendance are considered a full year of schooling, the child of 1911 may be said to have attended school 6.58 years, the child of 1921 about 7.58 years, and the child of 1931 about 8.55 years.

* For the details of this calculation see 1931 Census Monograph *Illiteracy and School Attendance* by M. C. MacLean.

The average time spent in school has increased at the rate of 1 month per year since 1911, i.e., 20 months or 2 years of attendance per child in twenty years. And lest it be thought that the increase is due to improved regularity of attendance rather than a longer school career, it ought to be mentioned that the average number of years during which each child spent some time in school (in other words, the time he was enrolled) increased from 7.96 in 1911 to 9.13 in 1921, and to 9.89 in 1931 (see Chart 2). In measuring the length of schooling this way the increase still appears to have been about 2 years in the twenty-year interval, and in 1931 the total time of a child in school averaged very nearly 10 years throughout the country. Comparing this with the somewhat more than 2 years of added dependency to which the record of earnings pointed, it would seem that all but a relatively small fraction of the longer period of "economic minority" was being spent in school. We can say that the increase in school attendance was almost exactly 2 years, the increase in dependency probably a little more.

Chart 2



The length of school attendance may be described in terms of the children's age as follows: in 1911 the average age on starting to school was 6.42 years, and adding to this the 7.96 years in school, the age on leaving must have been 14.38; in 1921 they started at age 6.33, stayed 9.13 years, and left at age 15.46; in 1931 the starting age averaged 6.36, the time in school 9.89 years and the age of leaving, 16.25.

Using as a clue the age of leaving school, it is possible to form a connection between 1931 and the years since. In inter-censal years, the provincial records of school enrolment by ages, provide practically the only statistical indication of what is happening to young people in the way of finding employment. Unfortunately there is only a record for six provinces, the Maritime and Prairie Provinces, that permit of this use, but a statement is presented below to show the tendency since 1931 in the matter of the older children of these six remaining in school.

I.—COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTIONS OF OLDER CHILDREN (15-18) IN SCHOOL, BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE, MARITIME AND PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1931, 1933 AND 1935

Item	P.C. of Children Enrolled in School at Age			
	15	16	17	18
Maritime Provinces—				
1931.....	71.1	47.4	26.4	19.5
1933.....	71.6	51.3	32.7	16.3
1935.....	73.9	47.8	31.3	15.8
Prairie Provinces—				
1931.....	73.1	44.7	25.3	12.6
1933.....	74.9	49.2	32.3	17.5
1935.....	73.4	45.7	30.8	17.4

In both areas the proportion of children in school at the ages 15-18 was higher in 1935 than in 1931, though not as high as in 1933. The two years following 1931 were those in which the chances of young people finding jobs were smallest, and they remained in school in unusual numbers. Since 1933 the proportions have fallen back nearer the level of 1931, but at the ages of 17 and 18 they are still considerably higher, and it seems likely that the long-term tendency of the current decade will be a continuation of the trend in 1911-31. If so, the average age for leaving school in 1941 will be about 17 years, in place of the 16.25 years of 1931.

In 1931 there was as we have seen a difference of 1.75 years between the age of leaving school and the age of self-support (considering \$37 per month as self-support). This would be due to some not working for pay at all and others working for less than enough to keep them. If there is the same gap between school and independence in 1941, the younger generation as a whole will probably not be self-supporting until the age of 19 or thereabouts.

The Independence of Boys and Girls Compared.—The full significance of the lengthening dependence of youth as a group is not apparent until it is realized that the loss has been entirely among the boys or young men; they have stood more than the net loss of young people as a group, for the girls have gained in the interval at their expense. It has been recorded above that accumulated earnings per person at age 24 were the equivalent of only 2.6 years of adult men's pay in 1931, where they had been the equivalent of 3.1 years in 1921, and 3.6 years in 1911. This meant a twenty-year loss of 28 p.c. for young men and women together, but the combined figures include a gain for the girls from an average of 1.1 years of adult men's earnings in 1911 to 1.2 years in 1921, and to 1.5 years in 1931. Meanwhile the boys' earnings, measured in the same way, had dropped from 5.7 in 1911 to 5.1 in 1921, and to 3.7 in 1931; the twenty-year loss was 35 p.c., that of the later ten years alone being 27.5 p.c.

Alongside of this fact it is of interest to note that the percentage of young men marrying under the age of 25 was reduced in similar proportion. Among those in the age group 20-24 in 1921 there were 179 per 1,000 married, in 1931 only 142—a decrease of more than 20 p.c. (The corresponding decrease in the number of girls per 1,000 married at the same age was considerably less, only 13.6 p.c., for the reason that they tended to marry older men.) This general postponement of marriage in the decade has been accentuated in the years since 1931. The number of young men marrying under the age of 25 has been considerably lower each year since 1931 than the annual average of the five-year period preceding the census, although the population at this age has increased. The whole trend to later marriages gives rise to many problems,

among them the effect on the health and morale of the young people, about which there is little recorded in statistics. Illegitimate births, however, are recorded, and as there can be little doubt of a causal connection between their increase and the growing frequency of marriage postponement, it is worth recording that in the eight provinces (Quebec excepted) for which statistics have been compiled since 1921 the proportion of illegitimate births has doubled in the period; one birth in fifty was to an unmarried mother in 1921, one in every twenty-five in the latest three years recorded (1932-34).

This mention of the problem of delayed marriages, in connection with the discussion of changing length of dependency as between boys and girls, should not, of course, be construed to mean that the later marriages are all, or even mostly, due to girls having taken the place of boys in gainful occupations. The girls have received probably much more blame than is their due in this respect, for the matter of their taking jobs in place of boys of their own age has not been the boys' greatest difficulty, as is evident from the comparison that has been made. If the gain in girls (under age 25) in the period 1921-31 had all been made by the boys of their own age instead, the latter would still have lost 21.5 p.c. as compared with their actual loss of 27.5 p.c.; and if the girls' gain over the twenty-year period had all gone to the boys the latter would still have lost 28 p.c., whereas their actual loss of 35 p.c. was little more. Thus if the boys' loss of independence in recent years is due in any considerable measure to female employment, the females chiefly responsible must be those older than the boys—those who secured jobs before the boys were old enough to work and have not relinquished them.

The extent to which this has happened is indicated by the fact that the increase in earnings in the period 1911-31 was twice as great among women over the age of 25 as among those younger; and in the latter ten years considered alone it was nearly five times as great. So it is probable that they held from the boys two to five times as much remuneration as did the younger girls. Those girls who were old enough to start working during or shortly after the War years were particularly fortunate and are still benefiting from the advantage which that start gave them. These were the girls, for instance, who were of ages 15-24 in 1921 and who at that time were earning \$524 annually as compared with \$455 for girls of the same age in 1931; they were fortunate too in the later year as compared with women who were working at their age a decade earlier, for they received \$700 apiece in 1931 where women of the same age in 1921, when living costs were higher, had made only \$668.

Since, as is beginning to appear from the above, the financial handicap of present-day young men, and their consequent inability to marry, is essentially a matter of older *vs.* younger, there should be some prospect of relief in the expedient of encouraging girls to marry and remain in employment, for it is the young people now of most common marrying ages who are at the greatest disadvantage. Their resources combined with the boys' in establishing homes would make it easier in some cases, but it should be noted that it would not solve the problem for more than a minority, because the joint means of the younger people of both sexes is much below what it was. It has also to be considered what the effect of such a policy would be on the group still younger who have yet to come on the labour market, for it could probably be more easily adopted than discarded.

The Earnings of Younger *vs.* Older.—The favourable position of girls who came of working age around 1920 as compared with those who came of age around 1930, extends also to young men of the two dates. Young men employed at ages 20-24 in 1921 had an average year's earnings of \$846, where those of the same age in 1931 received only \$613. This meant that there had been double the reduction in pay for these ages than the general drop in wages and salaries for older men would warrant. Part of the difference was doubtless due to the young men at the more recent date having worked a shorter time and being less experienced, and although this may have been fair enough from the employer's standpoint it could not alter the fact of their reduced circumstances.

The general change between 1921 and 1931 as affecting persons of both sexes in the matter of earnings of younger and older persons is summarized in Statement II and Chart 3.

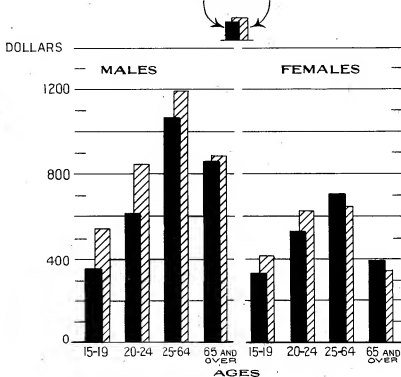
II.—PROPORTIONS OF DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS OCCUPIED AND THEIR AVERAGE EARNINGS,
BY SEX, CANADA, 1931 AND 1921

Age Group	P.C. of Total at Age Who Were Gainfully Occupied		Average Annual Earnings of Those Working for Wages or Salary	
	1931	1921	1931	1921
			\$	\$
Both sexes—				
All ages.....	37.8	36.1	848	954
15 and over.....	55.3	55.0	855	959
Male—				
15-19.....	59.1	69.1	351	546
20-24.....	92.5	92.4	613	840
25-64.....	96.5	95.0	1,067	1,191
65 and over.....	55.7	58.5	801	881
Female—				
15-19.....	25.5	28.1	327	418
20-24.....	42.4	35.1	533	622
25-64.....	15.3	13.0	708	650
65 and over.....	6.2	0.2	393	340

Chart 3

AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF CANADIAN
WAGE AND SALARY EARNERS AT DIFFERENT AGES

1931 AND 1921



Looking first at the male workers and comparing the changes in the smaller groups with those for the ages 25-64 (which include over 70 p.c. of the total) it is to be seen that younger and older both lost in the percentage of their number gainfully occupied, and the younger groups in addition lost heavily in their rate of pay. Identical relationships exist in the case of female workers, except that those of age 20-24 secured their share of the increase in numbers gainfully occupied.

In the first two lines of the statement, for both sexes and all ages, it is to be seen that a higher proportion of the population was gainfully occupied in 1931 than in 1921, and although there was more unemployment in the later year, average earnings *per capita* of those working for wages and salary were only between 11 p.c. and 12 p.c. lower. The cost of living, as measured by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' index, in the same interval dropped about 18 p.c., so it seems reasonable to suppose that the part of the population dependent on wages and salary were better off in 1930-31 than in 1920-21. The comparatively rapid fluctuations, both in cost of living and earnings, at both ends of the decade, suggest that too much stress should not be placed on an exact comparison between two dates, but there seems little doubt about the reality of the general tendency indicated by the measurement, *i.e.*, that the purchasing power or real earnings of the population as a whole are increasing but that this is being achieved through higher earnings for a shorter working life. Old persons and young persons, generally speaking, receive their share of the improvement only as a sort of alms from those in the shorter prime of working life.

New Means of Money-Making Are Mainly Jobs for Salary or Wage.—Most of this discussion of "younger *vs.* older" applies especially to the section of the population working for wages or salary. They tend to become an increasingly larger proportion of the total gainfully occupied, and a knowledge of the trend in this respect is essential to an understanding of the difficulties with which young men are having to contend. In summary it is this: in 1911 less than 60 p.c. of money-making occupations were jobs for salary or wage, but nearly 80 p.c. of the new positions that have been created since then are of this kind. Only about one in five of the new positions in twenty years has been that of an independent worker such as farmer, professional man, merchant, tradesman, other employer or person working on his own account. Four out of five of the new positions have been jobs on somebody's payroll. In the latter half of the twenty-year period, the post-War years, there has not been one "independent" position in five new ones.

This, of course, has been a consequence of the development of large-scale enterprise, and here has been another phase of the competition between younger and older men. The trend to "big business" in production and distribution of goods has made it increasingly difficult for young men to establish themselves independently, the difficulties in some cases extending to competition of an unscrupulous nature, such as price-cutting on the part of a business of national proportions in an area where a dangerous young competitor appears. When, thwarted in such ways, or simply by the economic advantages that large-scale production permits, the young men have sought employment with the established concerns, they have still been at the mercy of the employers' choice between themselves and girls for office jobs; and between themselves and more mature immigrant men for jobs involving heavier work. Both girls and immigrants, for obvious reasons, have often under-bid the boys and in this way have received preference from employers. As many as 82.3 p.c. of gainfully occupied women and girls are working for salary or wage, and in spite of immigration's share in settling the land, there is a considerably higher proportion of the gainfully occupied immigrant men in wage-earning jobs than is the case with native-born Canadian men—69.1 p.c. as compared with 58.2 p.c. in 1931.

The result of the three-sided competition is indicated in Statement III which shows that with few exceptions the industries in which the highest proportion of workers are wage-earners are those in which women or immigrant men hold more than their share of the jobs, *i.e.*, more than their average in all industries. In agriculture, the industry where four-fifths of those engaged are independent workers, and in forestry, fishing and trapping where the proportion of non-wage-earners is also high, the Canadian-born men have their highest proportions.

III.—PROPORTIONS OF CANADIAN-BORN AND IMMIGRANT MALES IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRY GROUPS, CANADA, 1931

Industry Group	No. Gainfully Occupied	P.C. of Gainfully Occupied			
		Wage- Earnings	Canadian- Born Males	Male Im- migrants	Females
All industries.....	3,924,533	65	54	29	17
Agriculture.....	1,127,707	18	69	29	2
Forestry, Fishing, and Trapping.....	97,502	59	75	25	-
Mining.....	72,011	90	47	53	-
Manufacturing.....	631,201	95	50	33	17
Construction.....	250,091	85	61	39	-
Transportation and Communication.....	306,209	92	59	34	7
Retail Trade.....	326,427	70	51	26	23
Wholesale Trade.....	60,990	85	56	29	15
Finance, Insurance.....	92,340	89	58	20	27
Professional Service.....	243,744	68	27	13	60
Public Administration.....	116,816	100	54	32	14
Custom and Repair.....	81,698	52	41	36	23
Personal Service.....	302,456	79	15	17	68

All four columns of percentages are percentages of the total number gainfully occupied. The last three columns together add to 100 p.c. for each industry.

Unemployed and Idle Youth in 1936.—With this glimpse into trends and causes it will be of interest to formulate a conception of the extent of the idleness and unemployment problem among Canadian boys and young men of the ages 15-24 at a date more recent than the Census of 1931. The figures in Statement IV are not to be construed as official estimates, but in the absence of such they represent an attempt to ascertain something of the general proportions that such a set of figures would show if they were available. The numbers in the groups under which youth are classified are all in some measure estimated. The basis of the estimates is the Census of 1931, the most recent source of information of this kind, but they are guided also by the records of school attendance and employment in the years since. Some explanation of the grouping will make for a better understanding.

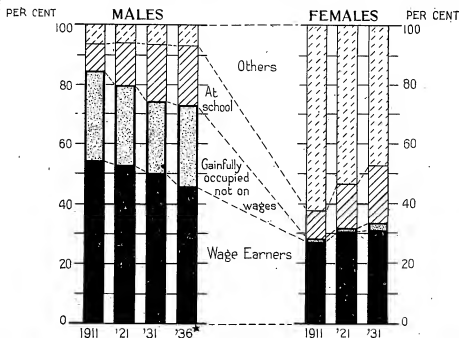
The first line shows the number of males who would be expected to be alive in Canada at ages 15-24 in June, 1936. The figures are those of the group five years younger in 1931 with the calculated deaths deducted. The remaining lines add to make this total. (A) *At school*.—The two lines under this general heading include all those who attended school for any part of the year. Some did not attend the entire year, but the regularity of attendance is high at these ages. (B) *Non-farm employees*.—The two lines under this general heading added together are intended to show the number who were "employed" in occupations other than agriculture. Nearly all are wage- or salary-earners, though there are a few (as in the case of farmers' sons) helping with their parents' business, or for other reasons not receiving a fixed wage. "Employed" here carries the significance of being an employee; it does not mean just that they were "engaged" in non-farm industries. There were others in these industries who were not employees; these are included in D. (C) *Farm workers*.—These include all who were engaged in agriculture except about 17,000 who owned or rented farms. (The farm owners or renters are included in D.) About 76 p.c. of those under the age of 20 in this category in 1931 and 63 p.c. of those at ages 20-24 were not receiving a fixed wage. These percentages are probably higher now. (D) *Working on own account*.—This heading is self-explanatory. These might be called the independent workers—those farming, in business for themselves or practising a trade or profession independently. (E) *Neither at school nor gainfully occupied*.—B, C and D together make up the total gainfully occupied and A includes all who were at school. E includes the left-overs, nearly all of whom are in urban communities, for farm boys who are not at school are practically all included in C, helping on the home farm.

IV.—HOW CANADIAN YOUTH (MALES ONLY) AGES 15-24 WERE PROBABLY OCCUPIED IN THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 1, 1936

Item	Age Group			
	15	16-17	18-19	20-24
Approximate number, June 1, 1936.....	116,726	215,180	206,541	516,849
A. At school—				
(1) Number who would be at school under conditions of 1931.....	75,652	75,183	25,844	18,624
(2) Approximate additional number at school.....	5,626	12,263	4,333	1,303
B. Non-farm employees—				
(1) Probable number working on average day.....	3,094	27,012	57,928	202,022
(2) Probable number idle on average day.....	928	9,071	22,052	60,044
C. Farm workers, including farmers' sons without wage as well as wage-earners.....	21,533	65,996	72,240	152,148
D. Working on own account, owners and employers.....	334	3,228	7,715	49,290
E. Neither at school nor gainfully occupied during year.....	9,559	21,827	15,390	23,758

Chart 4

HOW THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF CANADA
AGE 15-24
WERE OCCUPIED DURING THE YEARS OF THE LAST
THREE CENSUSES INCLUDING CALCULATION FOR
MALES IN 1936



* Estimated

The calculation as presented does not offer any single line which can be pointed to as the number unemployed. Such a figure, without consideration of its constituent elements, has little meaning or value. There are those at school who would be working if they could find jobs, those at home on the farm who are potential applicants for wage-earning places, those who are

trying to conduct a business of their own who are ready to sell out in order to take a place on somebody's payroll, those who have quit school for a year or more without finding any occupation (some of them unemployable by reason of physical or mental disability), besides those who are unemployed in the narrower sense of having worked for wages or salary only a part of the year. The calculation distinguishes between these different types of idleness and tries to give some conception of the numbers involved in each. It makes no pretension to a high degree of accuracy but the general proportions are probably not misleading.

The final line, E, is probably conservative. The percentage of total youth shown in it differs very little from the proportion discovered in the Census of 1931, and, surprising as it may be to most people, it was not much higher in 1931 than in 1921. Under post-War industrial conditions, it seems that a number equal to two-thirds of each year's "erop" of young men are continuously without occupation. This loss is in addition to that which results from working only a few weeks or months in a year.

Unemployment, in the sense of working for wages or salary part of the year and being off work the rest of the time, is shown for industries other than farming, under B. There are about 100,000 shown in this category, between 85,000 and 90,000 of whom were off work by reason of having no job, the rest on account of temporary lay-off, sickness, accident and other causes. Adding these to the 70,000 idle all year by reason of having no job at any time during the year, the total is at least 155,000 or nearly one and a half times the annual supply of new workers coming of age. Considering that this is practically all among the non-farm population it means two years of idleness on the average for all non-farm boys. Half of this at least seems to have become a normal phenomenon of modern social and economic organization.

There is a certain amount of unemployment of the urban variety among agricultural workers, i.e., among the 30 p.c. of those in category C, who are working for wages. In 1931 their unemployment was the equivalent of one-seventh of them being idle all the time, though it would probably be more like one-quarter of them idle through the winter, at which time most of them would likely become town residents. In this way the estimated 155,000 non-farm youths idle that winter would probably be increased by about 25,000. Among the non-farm wage-earners too, there is, of course, more unemployment in the winter than in the summer months; so while the statement expresses unemployment in this group as the number idle on the average of June, 1935-June, 1936, they would be more numerous than 85,000 in the winter months. The seasonal factor would probably make the total number of idle youths not living on farms during the winter something like 200,000 or more.

Besides these we must not overlook those keeping busy on the home farm or at school without making money. About 70 p.c. of farm workers, it will be recalled, are not receiving wages. Both groups are keeping occupied though those at school are almost all idle so far as gainful occupation is concerned, and the same is no doubt true of many farmers' sons. Both groups have to be considered in the unemployment picture, in the sense of being possible applicants for any new jobs that become available. The same is true of many in category D—those working on their own account. As a preceding page showed, there has for years been a tendency away from independent work to wage-earning.

CHAPTER II

THE COST OF REARING A CANADIAN CHILD TO THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE

Having ascertained in Chapter I the length of the average child's dependency under conditions of 1931, it will be possible now to attempt an estimate of the cost of supporting the child during these 18 years. There does not seem to have been any previous estimate of this kind attempted for Canadian conditions, and the data with which to do it are none too plentiful, so a high degree of accuracy in the total figure is not to be expected. Yet some conception of its general proportions and of the relative importance of the different elements which go to make up the total is possible. Both of these will vary somewhat from year to year, but data for the year of the 1931 Census have the advantage of avoiding the extremes of prosperity and depression.

Cost of Food.—Probably the most convenient way of calculating the cost of food that a child consumes in 18 years, will be by using the family budget compiled by the Department of Labour and Dominion Bureau of Statistics.* Here it will be found that a family budget of staple foods, in the year preceding the date of 1931 Census, cost about \$505. Allowing 5 members to this family, 2 adults and 3 children, we can find what the annual consumption of a child is worth, providing we know what proportion the value of a child's diet bears to that of an adult's. There have been some careful calculations of these ratios made for the United States, and there is no apparent reason why they should not be applicable to Canada.

A bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics†, based on an investigation of over 12,000 families, shows the values of food consumption for different ages to compare as follows:

Adult male.....	\$1.00
Adult female.....	.90
Child 11-14 years.....	.90
Child 7-10 years.....	.75
Child 4-6 years.....	.40
Child 3 years or under.....	.15

Using these ratios and the ages of children under 18 as shown by the Census of 1931, it can be found that the family of 5, when eating \$505-worth of food is consuming the equivalent of 3.8 adult male units. Thus one adult male unit is worth \$134, and since 11.25 units are required to feed the child to the age of 18, the cost of his food for 18 years, on the basis of 1930-31 prices, is \$1,508.

Dr. Graham Lusk, in his book *The Fundamental Basis of Nutrition*‡, gives a somewhat different table of ratios for consumption of children at varying ages, on the basis of which the Canadian child in 18 years would consume 12.68 adult male units, worth \$126 each, or a total of \$1,598. For our purposes it can not be far from the truth to take a figure half way between these two, say \$1,550.

Cost of Clothing.—The budget in *Prices and Price Indexes 1913-1931*, used for the calculation of food costs, does not contain a record of clothing costs. The study of budgets of civil servants' families in the same report, however, shows for the year an average expenditure on clothing amounting to \$52.24 for the first child and \$35.33 for the second child, in 4-person families. If the \$52.24 could be taken as an average for the older children, and the \$35.33 for the younger children, the expenditure in 18 years would be \$788.

**Prices and Price Indexes 1913-1931*, p. 132.

†*Cost of Living in the United States*, p. 70. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1924.

‡Yale University Press, Second Edition, 1923, p. 48.

For the purpose of measuring the change in the cost of living in working men's families in Canada, the Department of Labour prepares an index*, in which clothing is given a weight of 18.5 p.c. as compared with a weight of 35 p.c. for food. If this ratio were used in the case of children alone, in conjunction with the figure of \$1,550 for food, the cost of clothing in 18 years would be \$820.

On the basis of this, and other evidence that might be set down, it seems safe to say that, on the basis of 1930-31 prices, the cost of clothing for the 18 years of dependence would be in the neighbourhood of \$800.

Cost of Shelter.—The expenditure on rent, fuel and light shown in the family budget in *Prices and Price Indexes 1913-1931*, for the year preceding the date of the census, is almost identical with the amount allowed for food—\$503 as compared with \$505. On this basis, the cost of these items to the family would be \$9,054 in 18 years.

What proportion of this cost should be charged to each child is difficult to decide. When one looks for guidance to a census table which shows the amount of rent paid by families of different sizes, he sees that families without children pay the highest rents, and that the more children there are in a family the lower is the rent. But it does not follow that children are an asset offsetting the cost of rent or that no rent is chargeable to them. Perhaps a reasonable, if arbitrary, way of calculating the rent, light and heat costs chargeable to a child is to allocate to it one-sixth† of the amount paid in 18 years by the family of 5. This would amount to \$1,509.

Under the heading of shelter an entry should also be made for the cost of furniture and household equipment used by the child. The study of civil servants' budgets, to which reference has already been made, shows the year's expenditure under this heading for a 4-person family to be \$78. In 18 years this would total up to \$1,404, and be mainly replacement costs. One-sixth of this charged to each child, which is probably a very conservative proportion, would be \$234. It might also be permissible to charge the child with a part of the cost of equipping the home when the parents first started to keep house, but against this there is the consideration that, if the child is charged with his share of replacement costs, the home is left equipped when he reaches the age of independence.

In addition to the cost of rent, fuel, light and furniture there are such items as laundry and cleaning supplies, domestic service, telephone, toiletries, etc., to be considered in connection with the housing of a child. Calculated in the same way as furniture costs, these amount to \$300 at least, per child, in 18 years.

Putting all of these items together, we have a total of \$2,043 in connection with housing or shelter during the period of the child's dependence.

Health, Recreational and Social Costs.—Using the expenditures of civil servants as the only available guide, the 4-person family spends \$60 per year on medicine, hospital bills, doctors' and dentists' fees. A full fourth of this, it seems, should be charged to each child, as health expenditures for juveniles average quite as high as for the parents.‡ In 18 years this would mean \$270. It is not unlikely that a further sum could fairly be added to this to cover medical and related charges at the time of the child's birth. In the families averaging \$60 per year, it is not stated what proportion of confinement cases are included.

Recreation charges include toys, sporting goods, vacations, frequently automobile buying and operating costs, theatres and other amusements. One-sixth of this charged to the child makes an accumulation of \$255 in 18 years. Dues for insurance, junior organizations, church, etc. would easily raise this to \$300, judging by the evidence available, making a total under this general heading of health, recreational and social expenditures, of something like \$600.

The Cost of a Child's Schooling.—In the seven Canadian provinces (British Columbia and Quebec excepted) for which a record of the ages and school grades of children is available,

*Published in the monthly *Labour Gazette*.

†This is the proportion adopted in the book *The Money Value of a Man* by Louis I. Dublin, Ph.D. and Alfred J. Lotka, D.Sc. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1930. See p. 32.

‡Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 423 by E. L. Kirkpatrick.

it can be shown that the average child completes more than 8 years, or grades, of school work.* Two-thirds of all children go as far as the final year of the elementary school, about half do some high school work, one-fifth or more reach the final or matriculation year, more than one-tenth continue to a professional school or university, and about three per hundred get as far as a university degree. Although the number of girls and boys at the outset is about equal, girls in school are considerably more numerous than boys from the fifth or sixth grade right up to normal school or university entrance, when the proportions are reversed. Consequently, the average girl when leaving school is about half a year's work in advance of the average boy.

Knowing thus the extent of the average child's schooling, it is comparatively easy to show the cost. The cost of providing a year's school training varies according to the degree of advancement of the child, but sufficient statistical data exist to make an approximate calculation of the cost of a year in elementary grades, secondary grades and university years respectively. The current cost of operating the Ontario elementary schools (average over the last five years, on the basis of average daily attendance) has been \$66 per pupil per annum, as compared with \$137 in the secondary schools. A similar calculation for Manitoba† shows a five-year average cost of \$59 for elementary pupils, and \$108 for secondary, on the basis of the total year's enrolment. Saskatchewan secondary schools in the last five years show an expenditure of \$119 per pupil of the yearly enrolment, while the corresponding elementary schools show \$59. The correspondence between the Saskatchewan and Manitoba costs is thus very close, and if they were based on average daily attendance as the Ontario figures are, or *vice versa*, the three would differ very little. Apart from these three provinces there are no complete records published except for a few cities. Because of the similarity in the provinces examined, and the observable tendency for school costs to be much the same in Alberta and British Columbia and somewhat lower in the provinces east of Ontario, it must be very near the facts to say that the cost per pupil in average daily attendance in the elementary grades is \$60-\$70, in the secondary grades \$120-\$140.

Attention is drawn to the cost per pupil in average daily attendance rather than per pupil who attended school at any time during the year, for it is the former number rather than the latter who complete a full grade or year of work in a school year. And it is the cost of completing a year's work that we need to decide, for we know, from the opening paragraph above, the number of years' work that a child completes.

Without taking account of board, lodging and other personal expenses, the annual cost of a student to a Canadian university is shown, in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1930*, to be between \$500 and \$600. In view of the many activities of universities in addition to the instruction of regular students, it is probably not necessary to add anything to this sum to obtain a fair figure per student completing a year's work in an academic year. If we use the figure \$550, the cost of a university year is about four times the cost of a secondary year, which in turn is roughly double the cost of an elementary year.

On this basis the cost of a formal education that lasts until university graduation is about \$3,200—i.e., the cost to the school and university only, and not including the student's ordinary cost of living at any time. On the same basis, the cost to the community of a schooling that ends with a complete high school training is about \$1,050, and the cost of a full elementary schooling is roughly \$500.

Using the table of school survival in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1930*, to which reference was made above, the entire expenditure on schools and universities is found to be \$690 per child. To obtain the complete cost, something should be added to this to include the education costs met directly by the parents, such as books and other school equipment, and any private tuition that the child receives. Such a figure has to be chosen more or less arbitrarily, but \$50 or \$60 would probably be a sufficient allowance‡, and it could be said accordingly that the cost of the Canadian child's schooling, in round numbers, is \$750.

**Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1930*, pp. xiii, xxvi, published in 1932 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The present summary is from the table shown there at length, and based on school records of the preceding half dozen years. See also the companion study to the present, *Illiteracy and School Attendance*, where a calculation from the census, an entirely independent source, is shown to indicate the same length of schooling.

†*The Manitoba Teacher*, Dec. 1932. An address delivered over the radio, entitled *High School Costs—Some Comparisons* by Andrew Moore, Inspector of Secondary Schools for Manitoba.

‡The average annual expenditure of the group of civil servants' families on books and the education of their children is about \$7 per child.

Summary of Costs.—The only major item that has not now been considered in connection with rearing a child is the value of the parents' services and sacrifices, especially the mother's. While it is not in any sense intended to overlook those, they must be passed over with the barest mention as they do not permit measurement in dollars, for comparison with the other costs. Bringing together the costs under the several headings we have the following summary for the average Canadian child during its 18 years of dependence, on the basis of economic conditions in 1930-31.

Food.....	\$1,550
Clothing.....	800
Housing and related costs.....	2,050
Health, recreation and social costs.....	600
Schooling.....	750
Total.....	\$5,750

Since the greater part of the cost of schools is met out of property taxes, which in turn are in part covered by the rent charged against the child, it might be contended that there is some duplication between the costs shown for education and for shelter, but all of the estimates have probably been made on a basis conservative enough to make allowance for any duplication of this nature.*

It is of particular interest to notice the comparative sums spent under the headings that represent primary physical necessities—food, clothing and shelter—and the others, of which the chief is schooling. Figures quoted in the footnote indicate that in the United States as well as Canada barely 13 p.c. of the total is spent on formal school training. In other words, it costs no more to raise 6 children and give them an average schooling than to raise 7 completely illiterate. More is spent on clothing a child than on sending it to school, twice as much is spent on nourishing it, and nearly three times as much on housing. From a purely economic standpoint the figures seem to suggest that schooling at its present level is a good investment, for there can be little doubt about 6 children with average schooling giving promise of greater economic return than 7 who have never been to school.

Paying the Cost of Rearing a Child.—In so far as our calculations thus far are reliable, the young person at 18 may be considered as capital goods to the value of \$5,750. An interesting calculation† made by Mr. M. C. MacLean, makes it possible to see something of the time and the manner in which this investment is returned by the youth to society. The average boy reaches the age of 27 before his aggregate earnings amount to this sum, but at 27 he is supporting a wife as well as himself. At the age of 31, providing his wife is of the same age, their combined life earnings equal the amount spent in raising them to the age of 18, without allowing for interest on it during the thirteen years. In a sense they avoid interest charges, for their repayment to society

*Dr. Dublin and Dr. Lotka, in the book mentioned in a previous footnote, give the following comparable figures for the United States a few years earlier. Prices at that time were higher than in the years to which the Canadian figures apply.

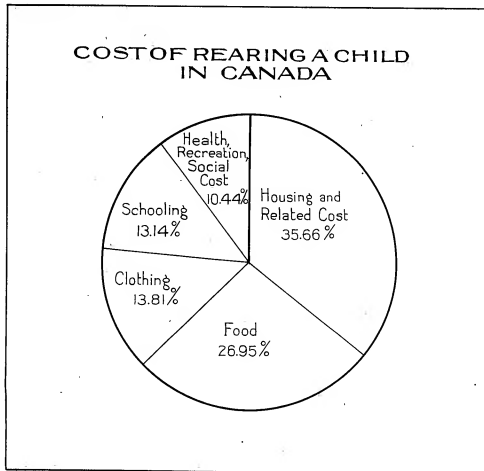
Cost of being born.....	\$ 250
Food.....	2,755
Clothing and shelter.....	3,333
Education, paid directly by family.....	50
Health.....	283
Recreation.....	130
Insurance.....	54
Sundries.....	570
Total paid by family.....	\$ 7,425
Education costs paid by community.....	\$ 1,100

†Published under the title *Memorandum re the Earning Power of Canadian Male and Female Workers*, by Agcs. Based on data collected at the Census of 1931 and from the Annual Reports on Vital Statistics, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

is in the form of replacement, reproduction of themselves at a later date. At the age of 31 they have 1 child, and in his early forties the average man is supporting 2 children or more, as well as his wife.

The life-time earnings of men living to the age of 60 under conditions of 1931 would be about \$40,000; of women, about \$4,000. At the age of 70 the men's earnings total nearly \$50,000, but the women's are little higher.

Chart 5



The average year's pay of all men on salary or wage in 1930-31 was \$927. This entire sum for six years would be required to meet the cost we have calculated for raising 1 child. The average earnings during the years that children are usually supported are, of course, higher than over the whole span of years.

Regional Differences in the Weight of Child Support.—There are very considerable differences between different parts of Canada in the proportions that children bear to the adult population. They constitute a much higher proportion of the total in rural than in urban communities as Statement V shows. There are, roughly speaking, 2 children to 3 adults in rural Canada, as compared with approximately 2 children to 4 adults in urban parts.

V.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION UNDER AND OVER THE AGE OF YOUTHFUL DEPENDENCY, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Age Group			
	Under 18		18 and over	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
CANADA.....	3,912,668	37.72	6,460,347	62.28
Rural.....	1,988,026	41.22	2,834,962	58.78
Urban.....	1,924,642	34.67	3,625,385	65.33
Prince Edward Island.....	33,518	38.07	54,513	61.93
Nova Scotia.....	199,507	38.91	313,225	61.09
New Brunswick.....	170,890	41.89	237,161	58.11
Quebec.....	1,204,073	43.27	1,609,532	56.73
Ontario.....	1,151,149	35.55	2,279,663	64.45
Manitoba.....	295,342	37.90	434,859	62.10
Saskatchewan.....	389,208	42.23	532,388	57.77
Alberta.....	284,721	38.92	449,760	61.08
British Columbia.....	208,648	30.11	484,106	69.89

There are still wider differences between provinces. British Columbia and Quebec represent the two extremes. If we make the dividing line the age of political majority, i.e., 21, rather than the age of economic majority, we find that there are 2 adults for 1 juvenile in British Columbia as compared with an approximately equal number of each in Quebec.

It is probably to be expected that where the proportion of children is highest the financial strain of raising them will be felt most. This may be reflected, for instance, in the amount of schooling received by the children of different provinces. Where the proportions of children in the total population are lowest their average length of schooling is greatest, and *vice versa*. It is shown in the companion study *Illiteracy and School Attendance* that the number of years' schooling received per child under school attendance conditions of 1931 was as follows in the different provinces: Nova Scotia, 8.73; New Brunswick, 7.96; Quebec, 7.78; Ontario, 9.20; Manitoba, 8.68; Saskatchewan, 8.39; Alberta, 8.82; British Columbia, 9.15. Arranging the provinces in order according to the proportions of children in their population, and according to the average length of schooling of their children, they appear as follows:—

Lowest to Highest Proportion of Children		Longest to Shortest Average of Schooling	
1. British Columbia.	5. Alberta.	1. Ontario.	5. Manitoba.
2. Ontario.	6. New Brunswick.	2. British Columbia.	6. Saskatchewan.
3. Manitoba.	7. Saskatchewan.	3. Alberta.	7. New Brunswick.
4. Nova Scotia.	8. Quebec.	4. Nova Scotia.	8. Quebec.

Where the order of the provinces is not the same in the two groups, differences between them are generally small. In the case of British Columbia and Ontario, for instance, the lengths of schooling are almost identical.

As the problem of supporting children is essentially a family problem, it is in order to consider the relative weights of it in different areas from the family standpoint. The Census of 1931 counted 2,419,360 private families in Canada, and the following statements are arranged to show how the responsibility for the country's children (those living in families) was distributed among them.

VI.—FAMILIES AND PERCENTAGE WITHOUT CHILDREN, RURAL AND URBAN, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Families					
	No.			P.C. without Children		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
CANADA.....	2,419,360	1,085,781	1,333,579	30.99	31.21	30.81
Prince Edward Island.....	20,496	15,774	4,692	31.64	31.81	31.05
Nova Scotia.....	118,780	66,515	52,265	29.86	32.14	26.95
New Brunswick.....	98,301	53,363	29,938	27.19	26.47	28.60
Quebec.....	579,252	190,211	383,041	26.17	24.16	27.20
Ontario.....	872,377	330,371	542,006	32.67	32.74	32.63
Manitoba.....	159,013	83,793	75,220	27.61	26.64	28.70
Saskatchewan.....	209,699	139,314	70,385	30.47	29.70	31.99
Alberta.....	182,113	110,834	71,279	34.44	35.78	32.37
British Columbia.....	189,359	84,606	104,753	40.49	45.01	36.84

By reason of the fact that many farmers on retirement take up residence in town or city, it might be expected that a higher proportion of urban than of rural families would be without children at home, but this is not the case. There is also a movement of young people to the cities which keeps the balance comparatively even. The average rural family with children, however, has definitely more than the town family, as Statement VII shows.

VII.—FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH, RURAL AND URBAN, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Number of Families with Children			Average Number of Children per Family		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
CANADA.....	1,669,634	746,929	922,706	2.92	3.22	2.68
Prince Edward Island.....	13,991	10,756	3,235	2.99	3.03	2.86
Nova Scotia.....	83,316	45,136	38,180	2.87	3.03	2.91
New Brunswick.....	64,253	42,916	21,377	3.24	3.46	2.70
Quebec.....	427,673	148,807	278,866	3.56	4.19	3.22
Ontario.....	587,374	222,202	365,172	2.50	2.70	2.38
Manitoba.....	115,102	61,468	53,634	2.88	3.21	2.51
Saskatchewan.....	145,807	97,940	47,867	3.15	3.39	2.66
Alberta.....	119,388	71,180	48,208	2.83	3.09	2.45
British Columbia.....	112,090	46,524	65,566	2.33	2.48	2.23

It is particularly noticeable that the largest families, those with 10 children or more living at home, are in rural communities, and the smallest in urban. Statement VIII shows that 3 out of 5 families with a single child are urban, and that as the size of family increases a lower proportion are found in cities and towns. Among families of 10 or more children the proportions are more than reversed; 2 out of 3 are rural. A similar relationship exists between the size of families in large cities (those of 30,000 population or more) and the smaller urban centres.

VIII.—RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Number of Families with Children Living at Home Having					
	1 Child	2 Children	3 Children	4 Children	5-9 Children	10 Children or more
CANADA—						
Rural.....	199,048	164,492	126,132	86,070	163,587	13,600
Urban.....	304,802	235,873	150,510	92,865	131,815	6,840
30,000 and over.....	175,448	135,223	83,458	49,046	62,903	2,735
1,000-30,000.....	109,518	85,338	50,519	36,781	57,450	3,412
Under 1,000.....	19,836	15,312	10,533	7,068	11,462	673
Prince Edward Island—						
Rural.....	3,089	2,429	1,734	1,206	2,184	114
Urban.....	1,042	755	478	351	578	31
Nova Scotia—						
Rural.....	13,426	10,060	7,007	5,027	9,074	552
Urban.....	11,573	8,850	6,153	4,374	6,031	299
New Brunswick—						
Rural.....	10,587	8,515	6,518	5,151	11,307	838
Urban.....	6,900	5,226	3,290	2,237	3,543	181
Quebec—						
Rural.....	27,953	24,000	20,545	17,717	51,202	7,390
Urban.....	74,532	60,809	44,679	32,215	61,725	4,906
Ontario—						
Rural.....	71,458	56,197	37,148	23,460	32,577	1,350
Urban.....	136,298	99,914	58,631	32,809	36,622	898
Manitoba—						
Rural.....	15,198	13,711	10,684	7,512	13,553	810
Urban.....	17,887	14,063	9,350	5,442	6,104	128
Saskatchewan—						
Rural.....	22,678	20,067	16,309	12,602	24,000	1,684
Urban.....	14,931	12,532	8,439	5,289	6,465	211
Alberta—						
Rural.....	18,593	16,283	12,211	8,857	14,500	734
Urban.....	16,337	13,537	8,559	4,080	4,991	104
British Columbia—						
Rural.....	16,086	12,638	7,976	4,532	5,190	122
Urban.....	25,302	19,587	10,931	5,468	4,796	82

Should Town and City Pay for Rural Schooling?—In spite of the relatively greater number of rural children, the urban population increases faster because of young people from the farms going to the city to make their homes. By reason of this migration it could probably be argued that the cities have reason to take an interest in, if not to be partly responsible for, the upbringing of rural youth.

The cost of schooling is the only considerable part of the cost of rearing a child that is not paid directly by the parents, and as such it represents an opportunity for urban communities to assist in the rearing of the rural children who will become their residents and supporters a few years later. Actually in all provinces at the present time there are certain provincial grants to schools which give more assistance to rural communities than would be given on a purely *per capita* basis, but they do not account for a very considerable share of total rural school costs.*

IX.—POPULATION AT CERTAIN SINGLE AGES 10-30 AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES, CANADA, 1931

Age	Population		
	Total	Rural	
		No.	P.C.
10.....	232,180	116,424	50.14
15.....	206,151	101,752	49.60
16.....	218,789	104,179	48.28
17.....	210,613	100,599	47.79
18.....	210,909	98,960	46.91
19.....	197,109	90,901	46.10
20.....	189,389	85,467	45.13
21.....	189,371	84,771	44.76
22.....	181,599	80,153	44.14
23.....	178,990	77,258	43.15
24.....	171,836	73,858	42.98
25.....	165,622	70,378	42.42
30.....	163,230	67,348	41.20

A conception of the proportions of the cityward movement of rural young people may be gained from Statement IX. At the age of 10 or 15 about 50 p.c. of the population lives in rural areas, at the age of 25 or 30 not much more than 40 p.c. A certain amount of the difference may be due to urban birth rate having fallen more rapidly than the rural, but most of it is due to rural-urban migration. If it were all due to the latter, it would mean that the country loses more than 15 p.c. of its children to the city, or in other words more than 15 p.c. of its investment in children is turned over to the cities. And according to our earlier calculations in this chapter only about 13 p.c. of the cost of raising children is for their schooling. So if the complete cost of rural schooling were paid by urban communities, the latter would be paying almost the equivalent of the cost of raising the number of rural young people who become their residents in adult years.

*For a summary of these see *Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1934*, Chap. I.

CHAPTER III

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE COST OF SCHOOLING

As the largest item in the cost of raising a child which is made out of public funds, the cost of schooling receives perhaps a disproportionate share of public interest. The present chapter will cater to this specialized interest by offering some general considerations which may help to judge the propriety of the expenditures made on schools in recent years.

The expenditure for all Canadian schools and institutions of higher learning, public and private, is shown in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1930 and 1932* to have been about \$165,000,000. The intervening year is the only one in which it was ever higher. About \$20,000,000 of this is the share of universities and colleges, something like \$35,000,000 is spent on the high school students, and \$110,000,000 on the elementary.

A. EXPENDITURE FOR SCHOOLS CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INCOME AND OTHER ITEMS OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURE

By considering the sum of \$165,000,000 for schools as one item in the total amount of money that we spend in a year, we are setting it in perspective in such a way as to make clear its real weight or burden from a national standpoint. It is scarcely possible to see clearly all the details of the panorama of national expenditure, of which education is one, but there are parts of it that stand out in full view—as for instance in the 1931 Census of Retail Trade—and we know from a variety of sources the approximate extent of the whole.

National Income and Expenditure.—The Census of 1931 found that the earnings of 2,477,038 persons in Canada working for wages or salaries were \$2,102,877,400 in the preceding year. There were also 88,963 wage-earners whose earnings were not recorded and 1,361,590 gainfully-occupied persons who were not on salary or wages; these were the employers and people working on their own account, like farmers, small storekeepers, doctors, etc. If we suppose that these earned from their businesses and professions on the average the same as the earnings of those who were working for a fixed salary or wage, the combined earnings of all would have been \$3,392,854,200. This is probably a conservative assumption, because the earnings of the average independent worker or employer may be higher than those of the employees. So without calling this figure an estimate, it may be considered to provide an idea of the proportions that the aggregate income from labour or services probably assumed. In addition to this type of income—the reward of labour or effort—there is the income received from capital, which appears as interest, dividends, rentals, gains from sale of assets, etc., and income from insurance or pensions. These sources provide the entire income of a group of people not included at all among the gainfully employed, to whom we have attributed probable earnings of the magnitude of \$3,392,854,200, and they also yield sums to many of those in the larger group, which must be added to their earnings to make their total income. For the United States it has been estimated that the effort-income represented only 73.5 p.c. of the total in 1929. If a similar ratio should be considered to exist in Canada, it would point to an aggregate national income in the vicinity of \$4,600,000,000. It is probably a liberal assumption to suppose that the proportion of unearned income in the total is as high in Canada as in the United States, but offsetting this is the fact that the figure for earned income is likely conservative.

*The Canada Year Book**, by quite a different approach, estimates the national income of 1930 to have been in the neighbourhood of \$4,750,000,000. The method used in reaching this figure is to find the value of goods produced (using the term in the narrow sense of primary production and manufacture) and the number of people engaged in producing these goods, then

*1933 edition, published by Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 203.

to assume that all others who were working (e.g., people engaged in transportation, professional and personal services, etc.) produced the same value *per capita*. From the total thus obtained 8 p.c. is deducted for the replacement of equipment used up in the process of production, leaving a net income of \$4,750,000,000, a figure which differs only about 3 p.c. from the one calculated from earnings. Moreover, the earnings figures apply to a year ending 5 months later than the production figures, at a time when productive activity was on the decline. So it can perhaps be safely assumed that either figure presents a reasonably accurate conception of the dimensions of the national income.

Having settled on this figure, we are in a position to see that the \$165,000,000 in support of schools and colleges was about 3.5 p.c. of the money that there was to spend in the year; and we can proceed to compare this amount with what was spent for other purposes.

How the Canadian Consumer Spends His Income.—As already mentioned, anything like a complete classification of the aggregate expenditure of Canadian consumers is not to be had, but there are complete or partial records of some types of expenditure that are sufficient to help toward a sense of balance or proportion in judging of the real weight of any one.

Food, Clothing, Shelter.—Expenditure for food, clothing and housing is, in one sense, in a class by itself, since the human body must have these if life is to be sustained. It is quite certain that all the money actually spent for these purposes is not strictly essential for maintaining population at its existing level of vitality, as there are probably few who can not recall outlays of this kind made needlessly, if not unwisely. But under post-War conditions of life on this continent and in Great Britain, various calculations* seem to show about 55 p.c. of our expenditures come under these categories. The Feavearyear estimates for Great Britain (1924-27) show 54.4 p.c., the Business Week estimates for the United States (1919-30) show 55 p.c., and the Hoyt (1926) show 56 p.c. When the difference is so small between these two countries that are nearest to us in ways and standards of living, it seems a safe assumption that the proportion is much the same in Canada.

Broadly speaking then, nearly half of our income remains after the bare physical necessities of life have been met. If we suppose that one dollar in each eleven spent for food, clothing and shelter is unnecessary or superfluous, fully half remains, and about 7 p.c. of this half goes to the support of schools and colleges, though it is not paid by the consumer for educational institutions as such. Much the greater part of it leaves the person who has earned it, in the form of taxes, and is spent by the various governmental bodies acting in a collective capacity for the aggregate of individuals.

Direct Taxes.—The fact invites consideration of a second call upon the consumers' funds in the form of taxes, a necessitous call also, but differing in the nature of its necessity from the demand for food, clothing and shelter. The combined amount of taxes paid to the Dominion, Provincial and Municipal Governments in 1930-31 was approximately \$700,000,000,† or about 15 p.c. of the sum of consumers' expenditure.

Only a fraction of the total, however, was paid directly as taxes; the remainder was paid in the form of higher prices for commodities or services and is included in the cost of clothing, rents, and the like. The knowledge of taxation incidence is not sufficiently complete to divide all taxation into the two classes completely, but the total of real and personal property taxes, income taxes, and succession duties, which would be mainly in the direct class, amounted to less than \$400,000,000, whereas the aggregate of customs, excise, gasoline and sales taxes, profit on liquor sales and other indirect taxes was over \$300,000,000. A considerable part of the former sum, especially since two-thirds of it represents real property taxes, must have been paid in the form of higher rent rather than out of the profits of the person owning the property. This amount is included in shelter costs, and it accordingly seems safe to suppose that at least half of all taxes were paid indirectly, leaving not more than \$350,000,000, and probably less, to be paid directly. Something like 7 p.c. of consumer expenditures, then, seems to be paid out in taxes, as such.

*As summarized by *The Business Week*, Issues Apr. 27 to Sept. 7, 1932. McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., New York.

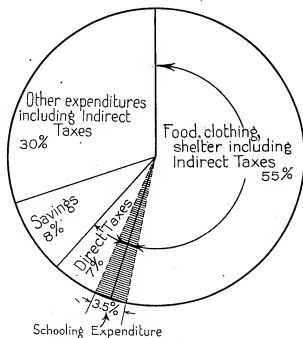
†See *Cost of Government in Canada*, a pamphlet prepared by the Research Committee of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and other studies such as those by the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.

A General Classification.—The foregoing would indicate that the Canadian consumer's expenditure could be classified roughly as follows:

1. Food, clothing and housing, including taxes paid as part of the purchase price. . . . 55 p.c.
2. Direct taxes (being mainly on real estate and thus paying much the greater part of school costs) 7 p.c.
3. Savings, probably 8 p.c.
4. Other expenditures, including taxes paid as part of the purchase price 30 p.c.

Chart 6

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN CONSUMER EXPENDITURE



Indirect taxation, which we have taken to be about 8 p.c. of all expenditure, is probably more than proportionately included under the last heading as compared with the first. That is, the rate of taxation averages higher on the commodities included in the latter group. For instance, the profits of Provincial Governments from liquor traffic (included as taxes) exceeded \$30,000,000 and the Dominion Customs and Excise on alcoholic beverages exceeded \$36,000,000 in the fiscal year ending in 1931, whereas the Census of Merchandising, 1931 showed sales of \$131,375,000 by liquor stores and taverns in the preceding year, indicating that roughly half of the purchase price of spirituous beverages on the average represents taxes. Similarly with tobacco and its products. Tobacco manufactures in 1930 were valued at \$85,672,000 and something like half of this sum must have represented excise duties, for the excise collected on tobacco in the nearest

fiscal year was over \$42,000,000. Liquor and tobacco are rather exceptional among the commodities purchased in important quantities, in the high proportion of their costs constituting taxes, but other much-used commodities, such as motor vehicles and gasoline, include a relatively high proportion of taxes in their purchase price, as compared with food and clothing.

How the Residual Thirty Per Cent Is Spent.—The summary above shows a balance of about 30 p.e. after allowing for food, clothing, shelter, direct taxes and savings. This 30 p.e. would represent a sum in the neighbourhood of \$1,425,000,000.

The Census of Retail Merchandising and Service Establishments, 1931 indicates how a part of this money was spent, but the census classifies sales according to the kind of store in which they were made, and it is only in relatively few cases that the sales of any particular type of commodity or service can be obtained from such a compilation. The receipts of motion picture houses, for instance, are recorded at \$39,233,200, and this is probably very near the total amount spent on the movies, but the receipts of bowling alleys and billiard parlours are shown to be \$7,772,600, those of barber shops and beauty parlours \$23,085,700, and those sums are likely to be short of the total amount spent for the services that establishments of these two kinds offer, since many hotels, tobacco stores, etc., have barber shops or pool rooms, the receipts from which are not included. Nevertheless the Census of Retail Establishments provides much useful data for studying the details of Canadian expenditure.

A second method of obtaining knowledge of the amount spent for different commodities is to add the value of imports and subtract the value of exports from the value of goods produced, as shown in the production figures and Census of Manufactures of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Thus a conception of the expenditure for medicine might be gained by noting that the value of medicinal and other pharmaceutical preparations manufactured in Canada in 1930 was \$17,769,000 and imports of such products exceeded exports by \$3,428,000. Similarly manufactures and net imports of scientific and professional equipment (a large proportion of which would be for the use of doctors, dentists, etc.) had a value of \$10,392,000. With these figures as a basis it would be possible to obtain a conception of the total expenditure for health purposes. The Census of Institutions in 1931 showed the budgets of hospitals to be in excess of \$58,000,000. If the earnings of all doctors, nurses and other health professionals such as dentists, opticians, etc., were the equivalent *per capita* (in each group) of those on hospital staffs or otherwise on salary, the amount paid to all health professionals would have been \$53,400,000. The five sums added together make some \$143,000,000 definitely attributable to health purposes, though because some of the hospitals are supported by taxation, not all of the total can be called consumer expenditure.

Various other methods can be used for obtaining an approximation of other types of expenditure. A special compilation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics* estimates the expenditure of Canadian tourists abroad to have been \$100,389,000 in 1930. In the three preceding years it was substantially higher, but in 1931 dropped to \$76,452,000. Expenditure for personal travel and holidays at home would have to be estimated from a variety of sources.

The amount provided for the support of churches is published by three of the five religious denominations in Canada claiming the most adherents. These three show a total of \$23,200,000 raised for all church purposes in 1930, and the Census of 1931 shows that their adherents constituted 32 p.e. of the population. If the supporters of other denominations contributed the same *per capita*, the amount raised by all churches would have been about \$73,000,000.

Such are some of the probable sums included in the 30 p.e. of Canadian consumer expenditure that remains after food, clothing, housing, savings and direct taxes are paid for—and some indications of the manner in which other of these expenditures may be ascertained. The sums mentioned scarcely account for half of the 30 p.e. The largest item of the group for which a figure is not indicated is undoubtedly motor cars and other means of passenger transportation, another important one is expenditure for personal adornment including cosmetics, jewelry, etc. Still others are confectionery, fees for membership in societies, the cost of correspondence, reading material, music, sports, and other private educational, social or recreational activities.

*The Tourist Trade in Canada. Published annually.

B. INVESTMENT IN SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO NATIONAL WEALTH

After considering the place of schools' cost in the national expenditure it may be of interest to indicate briefly the value of our investment in them as compared with other forms of the national wealth. The latter will not be listed at length for they may be consulted in another publication* of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The figures apply to the year 1933.

X.—CANADA'S INVESTMENT IN SCHOOLS, 1933

Item	Value of Lands, Build- ings and Equipment	Debt Indebtedness
	\$	\$
A. Ordinary publicly-controlled schools—		
British Columbia.....	25,000,000 ¹	15,448,396
Alberta.....	22,558,465	11,074,002
Saskatchewan (secondary schools estimated).....	32,000,000	16,000,000
Manitoba.....	19,295,151	15,579,826
Ontario.....	161,894,633	84,722,797
Quebec.....	103,722,566	71,446,847
New Brunswick.....	10,000,000	4,577,420
Prince Edward Island.....		
Nova Scotia.....	10,102,372	5,000,000 ¹
CANADA.....	384,571,187	224,849,888
B. Universities and colleges (valuations recorded except in few cases).....	145,000,000	No data
C. Normal schools, private schools, Indian schools and special schools.....	50,000,000 ¹	No data
Total, all schools and universities.....	579,571,187	

¹ Estimated.

The school investment of nearly \$600,000,000 represents about 2 p.c. of our total estimated national wealth. It is about double our investment in telephones; equal to our investment in the electricity supply industry; comparable to, but less than, our investment in the mining industry or in automobiles; about one-fifth or one-sixth of our investment in railways; about one-tenth or less of our investment in farming.

There is still a considerable part of the investment in schools to be paid for by the public. The ordinary publicly-controlled schools are valued at less than \$400,000,000, and there is an indebtedness against them of more than half this amount.

C. EXPENDITURE FOR SCHOOLS IN 1931 AS COMPARED WITH 1913

Another common method of testing the propriety of expenditures is to compare the present with an earlier date. This will be done in the case of school costs in the paragraphs that follow. The earlier year chosen is the customary one for long-term comparisons, the last entirely pre-War year. The recent year is 1931, the basic year to which all of the data of this study are related as far as possible.

On an earlier page it was recorded that some \$145,000,000 in recent years has been spent annually on elementary and secondary schools. All but some \$5,000,000 of this is for publicly-controlled schools, and the \$140,000,000 compares with \$54,000,000 in 1913. The increase in terms of percentage is 160 p.e., substantial in itself, and in comparison with the increase of 40 p.c. in population during the period; but it is scarcely more adequate evidence for concluding at once that too much is now being spent for schools than the fact that during the same time telephones increased 200 p.c., and automobiles 2,300 p.c. is proof that too much is now being expended on these commodities. Times change and the role of the school in society may grow as does the place for means of communication or transportation.

The Cost of a Day's Schooling in 1931 as Compared with 1913.—In the first place a dollar in recent years has not represented the same amount of purchasing power as in 1913. The retail price index of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1926=100) which was 66.0 in 1914,

*Canada's National Wealth. Published 1936.

was 99.9 in 1929, 99.2 in 1930, 89.6 in 1931. It has since moved lower, as also has expenditure on schools. The retail index, since it indicates the changed cost of food, fuel, rent, clothing, etc., will be the best available guide as to the relative value of a dollar in the hands of the consumer in the two periods. And since the present problem is to compare the real cost to him of schooling in the two periods, it will be the proper guide to use. Thus, it appears at once that in terms of the things he buys every day—food, clothing, shelter, etc.—the Canadian taxpayer was spending, for schools in 1931 not 160 p.c. more than in 1913, but only 91 p.c. more.

Over the period 1913-31 there was an increase in enrolment at the publicly-controlled schools from 1,438,000 to 2,214,000. This fact considered together with the changed value of the dollar shows that the cost per pupil enrolled in the schools was only 30 p.c. more in 1931 than in 1913.

Regularity of attendance has improved much in recent years, or in other words, the proportion of the year's enrolment in average daily attendance at school is higher than formerly. The number of pupils in actual attendance is a better guide to what the schools are accomplishing than is the number on the roll, and since the present problem is to show what the schools are giving in return for what is being spent on them, it should be recorded that the average daily attendance has risen from 942,000 in 1913 to 1,756,000 in 1931, indicating that the cost per pupil at school on the average day in terms of the purchasing power of the consumer's dollar, was only 2 p.c. higher in 1931.

Further, the number of days that the average school keeps open in a year has increased considerably in the last two decades. And as it seems reasonable to suppose, for example, that a teacher can do for her pupils in five days five-fourths of what she can do in four days, it is necessary to show the effect of the longer year on the value that the schools are giving. In the Western Provinces the school year has lengthened a full month, but they are exceptional. Not all of the other provinces have kept records to show the change, but available evidence would indicate that the average for the Dominion is in the neighbourhood of two weeks, or ten teaching days. From this it can be calculated that the amount of purchasing power expended for a day's instruction in the schools of 1931 was about 3 p.c. less than in the schools of 1913.

Moreover this achievement of 1931 took place in spite of the fact that a much higher proportion of the students were in the higher grades, which are more costly to accommodate. As compared with an increase of about 50 p.c. in the enrolment of the elementary grades, there was an increase of more than 200 p.c. in the secondary grades, and pupils in the latter category are just about twice as expensive as those in the former. From this situation it can be deduced that the real cost of a day's instruction in 1931, if the distribution between elementary and secondary grades had been the same as in 1913, would have been only 90 p.c. of what it was in the earlier year.

From this it is obvious that what might be called the mechanical efficiency of the schools is higher now than in the pre-War years, *i.e.*, a day's schooling is now given at a cost that is really lower. It follows that if criticism of school costs is to be made on the basis of a comparison with 1913, it must be on the ground that children are now receiving too much free schooling. And as to whether or not this is so, the figures on school survival may be recalled; in summary, two-thirds of the children who start to school go as far as the end of the elementary years, about half do some high school work, and one-fifth reach the final or matriculation year.

The Quality of a Day's Schooling To-day as Compared with 1913.—Let it be repeated that the foregoing comparison is made on a purely mechanical basis: it has simply shown the schools to have become more efficient "businesses" in the production of units that might be called "pupil-days instruction". Whether there has been any change in the quality of the product is another question.

There are numerous statistical grounds for believing that there has been an improvement in this respect—*e.g.*, the more thorough training that has been received by the average teacher of to-day, and the improvement in school equipment. Such a change, qualitative in nature, cannot be measured directly with the precision of the quantitative change in cost per unit of work done, but some of the relevant numerical facts can be mentioned.

In all of the provincial school systems, except the Roman Catholic system of Quebec, teachers in 1931 and in 1913 can be grouped in three classes according to their professional qualifications as follows: first class or higher (the higher representing high school teachers' licences and bearing a variety of names), second class, third class or lower. This grouping, without implying that the certificates of any one of the classes represent the same standing in all, or even in any two, of the provinces, is a permissible device for measuring the relative change in the status of the teachers of all provinces together. In the period 1913-31 the first-class group increased its proportion in the total from 17 p.c. to 38 p.c., the second-class group increased from 50 p.c. to 55 p.c., whereas the third-class group decreased from 33 p.c. to a mere 7 p.c. More than a quarter of those in the third group in 1913, or 9 p.c. of all teachers, had no recognized qualifications at all, but were allowed to teach simply because qualified teachers could not be secured. Such teachers had all but disappeared in the records of 1931.

The improvement in class-grouping is very considerable but it tells only a part of the story. The qualifications required for standing in any one of the classes have been raised repeatedly throughout the period. Higher academic standing, more normal school training, summer school attendance, and so on, have been demanded of the teachers who are now in the schools, as compared with those who were teaching twenty years ago. The changes in this respect have been so numerous and diverse as not to lend themselves readily to classification, but there are probably few people who are not in some measure familiar with them in one province at least, for every province has participated in the improvement. Such changes must have tended to produce more capable teachers, or in other words, to improve the quality of the educational process which it is the teachers' task to direct.

Another characteristic of present day teachers which should make for better teaching is their tendency to stay longer in the profession. Half of the Maritime teachers of 1913 had taught less than 3½ years; those of 1931, more than 4½ years. Half of the Quebec lay teachers had taught no more than about 3 years in 1913, but 5 years in 1931. There was a corresponding change in Ontario, though not as great, for the Ontario teachers were more permanent in the earlier year. The Western Provinces have not kept a record of teachers' experience since 1913. But the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has compiled a record for Manitoba for about half of the period, and if it is a fair indication of what has been happening in these provinces, as there is good reason to believe, the increase in length of tenure has been even more pronounced than in the more easterly provinces.

Apart from what appears to be more capability on the part of the teachers, they have on the whole better buildings and equipment at their disposal, and in the secondary grades particularly there is now a greater diversity of opportunity open to the students in the selection of courses. (The Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913 and the Technical Education Act of 1919 have exerted almost their full force in the period under consideration.) Though these things in themselves do not ensure a corresponding improvement in the quality of education, they make its attainment easier of realization; and, considering that their arrival has been accompanied by all the evidences of a more competent teaching body, it is probably safe to assume that they have made a considerable contribution to improvement in the output of the schools, whether that output be considered in the form of an isolated day's schooling, the aggregate of days' schooling that a child receives, or that unity, transcending the aggregate of component days again, which is the child's education.

Paying for the Schools in 1913 and in 1931.—What has been shown in the preceding pages may be summarized as follows: in 1931 as compared with 1913, we were unmistakably getting better value for the money spent on schools than the money spent for other things. In other words, the cost of everything averaged higher in 1931, but the cost of a day's schooling had not increased in as high a proportion as the cost of the other things the consumer buys, and there is strong evidence that the quality of it was at the same time definitely improved. If the component parts of the retail price index are considered, it will be seen that the only purchases yielding anywhere near as good value as schools (1931 as compared with 1913) were food and clothing; rents, fuel, services, etc., were comparatively much dearer.

But the fact that a day's schooling was cheaper in 1931 does not imply that the schools were more easily supported financially. Much more schooling was being given, and it may be that ability to pay for it had not increased at a corresponding rate.

We have already seen that in terms of retail purchasing power the schools were costing 91 p.c. more in 1931 than in 1913. This does not mean, however, that the increase in burden was 91 p.c., for there were more people to pay it. In 1931, there were 3,924,523 persons gainfully occupied; in 1911 there were 2,723,624, and if it was the same proportion of the 1913^{*} population (Dominion Bureau of Statistics' estimate) that was employed, there were about 2,885,000 gainfully occupied in that year. From this it can be readily calculated that the cost of schools per person gainfully occupied, was about 40 p.c. higher in 1931 than in the earlier year.

There are other sources of income than an occupation, but it is hardly possible to compare their relative importance in the two years, and in any case their yield is small in the aggregate as compared with the income of the gainfully occupied, for this expression covers all those who are working on their own account, such as farmers, shopkeepers, lawyers, etc., as well as those who are working for salaries or wages. So it is probably not far from the truth to say that the burden of school support, from a national standpoint, was about 40 p.c. heavier in 1931 than in 1913, in spite of the fact that a day's schooling was cheaper in the later year.

The statement is true only in so far as the number of people gainfully occupied is an index of the purchasing power produced. In the long run, and from the national standpoint, it is probably reliable as such an index. But in any single year, or as regards any particular group of producers, it may be very far from it. Consequently the statement is likely to be more valid in expressing the weight of school cost in recent years as compared with pre-War years, than in comparing one recent year with one pre-War year.

The fact that the statement applies to the country as a whole, but not necessarily to any particular section or group in the whole, has a very important significance for the study of school support, because schools are supported by groups or sections of the population independently, and not on a national or provincial basis. In rural communities particularly, the group supporting a school is generally not larger than a few dozen ratepayers, all or nearly all of whom are farmers. Though the country's schools as a whole may be only 40 p.c. harder to support than they were twenty years ago, for any particular community its school may be 80 p.c. or 100 p.c. more burdensome, and the school of another community correspondingly less. Since it is the ratepayers of the former school from whom more is likely to be heard on the matter of school costs, there is danger that an exaggerated impression may be created as to the increased costliness of schools generally.

The rural school is the most common case of violent fluctuation in the difficulty of school support, but other less common cases where the difficulty may become equally acute are fishing villages, mining or pulp and paper towns, and other communities where there is a lack of diversity in occupation or of stability in population numbers.

In the last few years, rural schools as a group have undoubtedly suffered more from failure of support than urban schools. The salaries of rural teachers in all provinces have declined much more than urban^{*}. The condition producing this result has been the exceptionally depressed level of prices for agricultural produce, the index for which stood at 46.9 in 1931, and 40.4 in 1932, as compared with 69.6 in 1913. If the volume of produce had been the same in 1931 as in 1913, the farmers' school costs would have been about 50 p.c. harder to meet even though they had not risen in dollars at all.

Violent fluctuations of this kind in the conditions affecting any industry may be in the main unavoidable, but the effects of them on a particular group of schools and on the people in that industry in their capacity of school supporters, could in a considerable measure be offset by making the entire population of a large and diversified area responsible for all of the schools in the area. Recent surveys of school support in most of the provinces have recommended the province as a whole to be the most desirable area for this purpose, supplemented usually by municipal or county areas.

A distinctive feature of certain grants in all provinces is their tendency to give more assistance to rural communities than would be given on a purely *per capita* or per pupil basis, so it is not for lack of precedent that equalization does not become more general, but rather by reason of the

^{*}See comparisons in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada 1936*. Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

[†]*Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Statistics*. Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

practical difficulties involved. From the side of the local communities the chief hesitancy seems to lie in the fear that a substantially higher proportion of provincial support would logically entail a corresponding centralization of administrative powers, which might make the school less of a community enterprise, a less organic part of the community life.

From the standpoint of the Provincial Governments the practical difficulty is one of raising the money required in order to assume a greater share of school costs. The misgivings of local communities could probably be overcome by the gradual assumption of an increased share of school costs, on the part of provincial legislatures, such as might be commenced if these bodies felt that their revenues would permit it. But for twenty-five years their budgets, considering all provinces together, have more often than not failed to balance, and in the last few years failure in this respect has been the rule. With this experience behind them, it is hardly to be expected that the Provincial Governments can, with their present sources of revenue and their present necessary outlays, undertake a responsibility that would increase their total annual expenditures by something like one-half, as would the assumption of the running costs of the public school systems. Hence it would seem that a general solution of this nature to the problem of school support, may be dependent on some redistribution of taxing powers or practices among Municipal, Provincial and Dominion Governments, such as has on occasion been discussed at Dominion-Provincial conferences; or alternatively, a shifting of responsibilities among the three so that the Provincial Governments would be able to spend more of their income on schools.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES OF CANADIAN CHILDREN AND THEIR EFFECT ON EDUCATION

Chapter II has attempted to indicate in financial terms the responsibility involved in raising a child, and to show something of its regional distribution. In the great majority of cases this responsibility, except for the cost of schooling and a few incidentals, falls directly on the parents. The present chapter will show the frequency with which it falls on, or is accepted by, others than parents, and indicate how the children under the care of others fare in the matter of schooling as compared with children who are living with their own parents. Statement XI shows in summary the number of children in different family circumstances. The detailed tables from which the statements in this chapter are summarized, are published in Volume V of the Census of 1931.

XI.—CHILDREN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE FAMILY HEAD, BY
BROAD AGE GROUPS, CANADA, 1931

Relationship of Family Head	Children in Age Group		
	Under 7	7-14	15 and over
A. In own family.....	1,493,881	1,686,358	1,700,811
With both parents.....	1,433,488	1,540,451	1,325,391
With mother only.....	44,451	97,967	265,013
With father only.....	15,942	48,840	112,407
B. In other families.....	19,140	37,772	27,190
With grandparents.....	9,485	13,958	5,464
With uncle or aunt.....	4,146	10,970	8,886
With brother or sister.....	271	2,744	3,846
Adopted.....	4,346	7,285	6,149
Others.....	898	2,815	2,845
C. Not in families.....	8,046	31,218	1
Total, all children.....	1,521,073	1,755,348	1

¹ Impossible to ascertain, as there is no fixed upper age limit to the "children" counted in this column.

In summary, it appears that nearly 95 p.c. of all children below school age, and nearly 90 p.c. of those at school age, have their two parents living with them. About two-thirds of the others have either mother or father, the mother more than twice as often as the father, especially at the younger ages.

About half of the very young children without either parent are taken by relatives, most frequently by grandparents, but in considerable numbers also by uncles and aunts. Nearly two-thirds of the other half go to institutions, and one-third are adopted. Among those at school ages a much higher proportion is in orphanages, hospitals and other institutions.

The proportion in institutions varies a good deal in different provinces. This will be shown a little later; first we will direct attention to those living in families. The remainder of this chapter will be divided into three sections, corresponding to the categories of children in Statement XI.

Children Living with Parents.—Children living with their own parents are in families varying all the way from 1 to 18 children living at home. The size of the family appears to have some effect on educational opportunity, though not perhaps as much as would be expected. Statement XII is arranged to show how many children live in families of different sizes, and how school attendance and illiteracy vary according to these circumstances.

XII.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, AND COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ILLITERACY IN EACH, CANADA, 1931

Size of Family	Children in Age Group				
	7-14		15 and over		
	No.	P.C. at School	No.	P.C. Illiterate	P.C. at School
All sizes.....	1,686,358	94.3	1,700,811	1.4	20.9
1 child.....	93,424	95.3	225,065	1.7	11.2
2 children.....	214,802	95.8	305,890	1.3	21.3
3 ".....	233,935	95.6	290,941	1.2	23.4
4 ".....	262,734	95.0	242,916	1.3	23.8
5 ".....	233,380	94.4	187,709	1.4	21.7
6 ".....	194,076	93.7	140,569	1.6	20.5
7 ".....	152,315	93.1	106,043	1.7	19.1
8 ".....	109,572	92.4	76,233	1.8	17.3
9 ".....	73,164	91.9	53,212	1.8	15.4
10-18 ".....	88,956	91.3	72,203	1.6	

It is likely that in many of the cases where there is only 1 child living at home, and it over the age of 14, the child is defective in some way, perhaps the only defective one in a family of several; this would explain the relatively low percentage of school attendance and literacy in this group. Otherwise there is a comparatively steady gradation toward poorer school attendance and more illiteracy as the family increases in size. Part of the difference, of course, is due to the tendency, mentioned in Chapter II, for larger families to be in rural districts.

Children of school age are more frequently in families of 3, 4 or 5 children, than in larger or smaller, but the most frequent size of family at school age is 2 children.

Another factor that influences the educational status of children is the headship of the family. Living with their father only, education is more likely to be neglected than when with their mother alone, especially at younger ages. Older children are more likely to be obliged to work when there is no father in the family, but in spite of this they are less illiterate than when the mother is not with them. This is perhaps an unexpected situation, considering the difficulty of widows in supporting children, but it may be related to the same source as the fact that it has long been characteristic of Canadian women to be less illiterate than Canadian men—a situation quite the contrary to that existing among the people who have come to Canada from foreign countries. More frequently schooled themselves, they seem to place a higher value on schooling for their children than do the fathers. Statement XIII is arranged to show the parental influence on schooling in communities of the rural, village, town, and city varieties.

XIII.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS, FATHER ALONE, OR MOTHER, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS, AND THE EFFECT OF THIS CIRCUMSTANCE ON THEIR EDUCATIONAL STATUS IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES, CANADA, 1931

Item	Children in Age Group					
	7-14		15 and over			
	No.	P.C. at School	No.	P.C. Illiterate	P.C. at School	P.C. Gainfully Occupied ¹
CANADA—						
With both parents.....	1,540,451	94.37	1,325,391	1.35	23.40	39.05
With mother only.....	97,067	94.51	253,013	1.01	12.40	61.88
With father only.....	48,840	91.03	112,407	2.15	11.98	40.23
Rural—						
With both parents.....	789,775	92.17	626,385	2.31	18.00	23.32
With mother only.....	38,500	91.71	91,900	3.42	9.60	44.92
With father only.....	26,954	88.48	57,328	3.47	8.87	27.16
Urban under 1,000—						
With both parents.....	61,205	96.73	46,508	0.79	33.90	36.91
With mother only.....	5,491	97.10	9,677	1.04	21.29	53.93
With father only.....	1,958	95.05	4,104	1.54	16.93	39.96
Urban 1,000-30,000—						
With both parents.....	307,680	96.21	268,291	0.75	29.22	49.79
With mother only.....	22,439	96.28	57,210	0.99	15.49	60.76
With father only.....	9,145	95.07	21,044	1.14	15.89	49.05
Urban over 30,000—						
With both parents.....	381,785	97.04	384,207	0.29	26.87	57.46
With mother only.....	30,631	96.27	104,220	0.36	12.34	74.90
With father only.....	10,783	95.98	29,931	0.41	14.51	58.07

¹ The percentages gainfully occupied in the final column are slightly high throughout as the figures on which they are based include adopted as well as own children, but the numbers involved are not large enough to affect the percentages considerably.

What is of still greater importance than the maternal vs. paternal relationship in affecting the children's schooling is the literacy status of the parental head of the family. Where both parents are illiterate, one-fifth of the children grow up illiterate, as is shown in Statement XIV. There is a strong presumption that the children's illiteracy in these cases is largely due to inherited inability to learn, for, as will appear a little later, illiteracy is decidedly more prevalent among the own children than among the guardianship children of illiterate heads of families. It seems likely, too, that a certain amount of laxity is involved on the part of illiterate parents, for at the ages of regular school attendance the record of their children is low, lower than can be accounted for by the fact that they are mainly in rural areas.

XIV.—THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL ILLITERACY AND THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, CANADA, 1931

Literacy of Parent	Children in Age Group					
	7-14		15 and over			
	No.	P.C. at School	No.	P.C. at School	P.C. Illiterate	P.C. Gainfully Occupied
Both parents—						
Both literate.....	1,414,960	95-25	1,202,427	24-74	0-43	39-34
Wife illiterate.....	35,453	88-69	31,455	13-98	6-10	35-39
Husband ".....	55,923	85-40	54,434	8-43	6-75	36-70
Both ".....	34,115	78-14	37,075	9-82	19-24	36-10
Mother only—						
Literate.....	91,867	95-18	248,356	12-75	0-78	62-20
Illiterate.....	5,200	82-60	14,657	6-46	15-70	56-40
Father only—						
Literate.....	44,937	92-93	102,643	12-63	0-83	40-39
Illiterate.....	3,903	75-66	9,764	5-11	16-04	38-48

Another interesting comparison in the matter of their children's schooling is between native-born and immigrant parents. Statement XV shows that whether both parents are living, or only one, Canadian-born parents on the whole do not give their children as much schooling as do immigrant parents. Interprovincial and rural-urban differences in population composition are factors in determining this net result, but it is of significance nevertheless. European-born parents as a group cannot be accused of failing to take advantage of educational opportunities for their children in Canada, and the low percentages of illiteracy among children one generation removed from the British Isles is particularly worthy of note.

XV.—COMPARISON OF THE SCHOOLING OF CHILDREN OF CANADIAN-BORN AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS, BY NATIVITY OF PARENT AND BROAD AGE GROUPS, CANADA, 1931

Nativity of Parent	Children in Age Group					
	7-14		15 and over			
	No.	P.C. at School	No.	P.C. at School	P.C. Illiterate	P.C. Gainfully Occupied
Both parents—						
Father born in Canada.....	992,439	93-15	861,714	22-03	1-78	37-58
" " " Britain.....	251,158	97-84	240,187	26-92	0-16	52-62
" " " U.S.A.....	76,722	95-92	49,300	33-03	0-57	28-12
" " " Europe.....	212,084	95-31	169,902	22-24	1-10	30-61
Mother only—						
Born in Canada.....	62,062	93-30	177,223	11-80	2-06	60-34
" " Britain.....	17,440	97-63	51,427	12-65	0-20	72-61
" " U.S.A.....	5,744	96-50	9,763	19-84	0-04	54-04
" " Europe.....	11,328	95-24	23,820	12-98	1-81	53-59
Father only—						
Born in Canada.....	33,860	89-84	79,795	11-18	2-63	38-30
" " Britain.....	6,967	97-26	17,555	13-85	0-39	51-82
" " U.S.A.....	2,275	94-37	3,400	18-61	0-78	33-99
" " Europe.....	5,434	94-24	11,071	12-01	1-83	37-39

Children in Families Other than Their Own.—For convenience of expression the children living in families other than their own will be referred to as guardianship children. Statement XVI is presented to show the varying percentages of guardianship children in the different provinces. It is particularly high in the Maritime Provinces. The reasons for the variations are not entirely obvious and are probably numerous. The proportion in Nova Scotia, for instance, may be related to the comparatively high rate of illegitimate births in that province.* Varying rates of maternal mortality in the provinces are another factor, also the rural-urban distribution of the population, and the extent of accommodation for orphans in institutions. The proportions are consistently higher at school age than earlier, for the older children have had more years in which to lose their parents.

XVI.—GUARDIANSHIP CHILDREN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Guardianship Children in Age Group			
	Under 7		7-14	
	No.	P.C. of Total Children	No.	P.C. of Total Children
CANADA.....	19,140	1-25	37,772	2-15
Rural.....	11,151	1-25	21,571	2-43
Urban.....	7,989	1-27	16,201	1-87
Prince Edward Island.....	357	2-70	697	4-59
Nova Scotia.....	2,007	2-04	3,481	3-82
New Brunswick.....	1,234	1-82	2,452	2-53
Quebec.....	4,914	0-99	10,387	1-97
Ontario.....	5,887	1-34	11,398	2-19
Manitoba.....	1,172	1-23	2,187	1-78
Saskatchewan.....	1,481	0-99	2,897	1-63
Alberta.....	1,125	1-02	2,253	1-75
British Columbia.....	969	1-30	2,020	2-10

The guardianship children do not fare as well in the way of education as do those with their own parents. There is a difference of about 3 p.c. in the proportions of ages 7-14 at school, and among those of 15 years and over the percentage illiterate is nearly double for guardianship children what it is for others. Children living with relatives fare a good deal better than those who are adopted. For instance, about 93 p.c. of those at ages 7-14 living with relatives (other than parents) were at school in 1931, as compared with barely 89 p.c. of those with strangers; and nearly 4 p.c. of adopted children over the age of 15 were illiterate as compared with just over 2 p.c. of those living with relatives. Older sisters and aunts make the best guardians from the standpoint of assuring a child's education; older brothers are not as satisfactory in this respect as uncles or grandparents.

One in every 6 or 7 children raised by an illiterate guardian grows up illiterate. Only three-fourths of the rural children at ages 7-14 living with illiterate guardians were attending school in 1931, and over 18 p.c. of those older than 14 were illiterate. This is one of the most significant relationships revealed by the census information on guardianship children for nearly one-tenth of them are living with illiterate guardians. The figures are summarized in Statement XVII.

XVII.—GUARDIANSHIP CHILDREN CLASSIFIED TO SHOW INFLUENCE OF GUARDIAN'S LITERACY ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND LITERACY OF THE CHILDREN, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS, RURAL AND URBAN, CANADA, 1931

Literacy of Guardian	Guardianship Children in Age Group			
	7-14		15 and over	
	No.	P.C. at School	No.	P.C. Illiterate
CANADA—				
Literate.....	33,998	92-88	25,144	1-40
Illiterate.....	3,774	79-22	2,046	14-90
Rural.....	21,571	88-73	13,400	3-94
Literate.....	18,717	90-72	11,924	2-17
Illiterate.....	2,854	75-64	1,476	18-22
Urban.....	16,201	95-22	13,790	1-08
Literate.....	15,281	95-52	13,220	0-85
Illiterate.....	920	90-32	570	6-31

*See the Annual Report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics *Vital Statistics*. In 1935 illegitimate births in Canada were 3-8 p.c. of the total; in Nova Scotia, 5-7 p.c.

As is the case of own children, it is more important for guardianship children to have a woman than a man at the head of the family so far as their education is concerned. In fact where the guardian is a widow, a higher proportion of the children are at school than where the husband is living.

Canadian-born guardians have a poorer record in educating their wards than have those born elsewhere. Guardians from the British Isles have the best record, those from the United States almost as good, European and Asiatic not as good but better than the Canadian.

Children Not Living in Families.—Children without any kind of family life are less numerous than those living with foster parents, especially very young children. They are in a variety of institutions— orphanages, shelters, hospitals, under the care of children's aid societies, juvenile immigration societies, etc., and some are boarding or working, living as adults rather than children. Statement XVIII indicates their number in each province in 1931—the number left over after all those in families have been counted. As in the case of guardianship children, they are more numerous at school ages than younger. They are more numerous in Quebec than in other provinces, probably because of the relatively larger number of institutions for children conducted by religious orders.

XVIII.—CHILDREN NOT LIVING IN FAMILIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Children Not Living in Families in Age Group			
	Under 7		7-14	
	No.	P.C. of Total Children	No.	P.C. of Total Children
CANADA.....	8,046	0.52	31,218	1.77
Prince Edward Island.....	61	0.47	205	1.35
Nova Scotia.....	497	0.65	1,737	1.90
New Brunswick.....	378	0.55	1,190	1.22
Quebec.....	3,049	0.61	13,876	2.63
Ontario.....	2,705	0.62	7,303	1.40
Manitoba.....	387	0.40	1,741	1.41
Saskatchewan.....	178	0.12	1,808	1.01
Alberta.....	216	0.19	1,523	1.18
British Columbia.....	574	0.77	1,834	1.90

The Census of Population, from which the information thus far in this chapter comes, did not record separately the number of children in different types of institution. For data of this kind it is necessary to go to the Census of Institutions.* This volume records 19,643 children in residence at charitable and benevolent institutions, mainly orphanages and homes for adults and children, 7,085 in homes on wages agreement mainly under the care of juvenile immigration societies, 3,479 in free private homes without wages, and 2,300 in paid private boarding houses mainly under surveillance of children's aid societies, smaller numbers in other categories, making a grand total of about 35,000 children under the care of charitable and benevolent institutions outside of their own homes. About two-thirds of this number were under the age of 15 years. There were also 2,731 under the age of 15 in mental institutions, nearly 1,000 of this age in corrective and reformatory institutions, etc. While not equal to the total number of children recorded by the Census of Population as not living in families, these figures indicate where the greater number of such children are.

Orphanages, of course, account for many more than any other single category. From some of these the children go out to attend the ordinary publicly-controlled schools, while in others, school is conducted as a part of the orphanage's work. A record of the grades of children by age in the latter is available for comparison with similar records from public schools, and is given in Statement XIX.

*Published as Volume IX, Census of 1931. The data for this volume were obtained by questionnaires sent out in the mail to institutions, not by census enumerators and the compilations were independent of the population census.

XIX.—THE SCHOOL PROGRESS OF BOYS 7-14 YEARS OF AGE IN ORPHANAGES COMPARED WITH THAT OF BOYS IN ORDINARY SCHOOLS, BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE, CANADA, 1931

Age	Average (median) Grade	
	Boys in Orphan-ages	Boys in Ordinary Schools
7.....	1-67	1-65
8.....	1-94	2-37
9.....	2-65	3-29
10.....	3-30	4-34
11.....	4-05	5-31
12.....	4-62	6-17
13.....	5-65	7-10
14.....	4-83	7-98

After an even start at the age of 7 there is a constantly widening gap in progress. The drop in average grade between the ages of 13 and 14 is apparently due to the brighter or more advanced children leaving the orphanages, for the numbers at the age of 14 are less than half of the number at 13. The number tends to be highest at about the age of 9.

CHAPTER V

YOUTHFUL DEPENDENCY RESULTING FROM DEFECTS, PHYSICAL, MENTAL AND SOCIAL

The discussion thus far has been concerned with the whole of the younger generation. Something should be recorded now about special kinds of dependency; handicaps which affect a relatively small number but which render them dependent to an exceptional degree or for an unusual length of time. In a general way the defects at back of these special cases are of three kinds, physical, mental and social, meaning by the last, delinquency and crime. No detailed examination of trends and causes will be attempted, for the purpose is not to analyse each of these special varieties of dependency but merely to indicate their importance in perspective. References will be made to the sources, publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, in which persons particularly interested in any one of these special classes may find data for detailed study of them.

The Blind.—One of the most complete physical handicaps is blindness. It is not often an affliction of youth, as is indicated by the fact that among the 7,343 blind persons in Canada located by the Census of 1931 only 47 were under the age of 5, 132 of ages 5-9, 193 of ages 10-14, and 262 of ages 15-19. There were almost 1,000 more between the ages 20-40, the latter the age at which Dominion legislation of 1937 makes pensions available to the blind.

There has been little change in the number of blind children under the age of 10 since the beginning of the century—150 in 1901 and 1911, as compared with 137 in 1921 and 179 in 1931. At ages 10-19 the numbers have risen from 291 in 1901 to 381 in 1921 and to 455 in 1931, but even this rate of increase has been somewhat less than the percentage increase in young people at the age.

Of the total number of blind in 1931, 787 reported that they had been blind from birth; a further 431 that they were blind before the age of 5; 238 more that they became blind between 10 and 14, and 185 between 15 and 19.

For detailed tabular analyses of the blind population the reader is referred to *Bulletin No. XLIII of the Census of 1931*, in which is published a number of cross-classifications useful in studying their circumstances and background. Altogether 1,271 were reported as gainfully occupied, 95 of age 15-24, 514 of age 25-49, and 662 of 50 and over. About half of this number were on wages or salary, the average earnings in the case of men being between \$500 and \$600, and of women between \$300 and \$400. At ages 25-49, normally the best years of earning, only about 37 p.c. of the blind have an occupation, although more than two-thirds of them are men; this combined with the information on earnings, indicates the degree of dependency among the blind population.

There was a marked improvement in the literacy of the blind between 1921 and 1931—from 50 p.c. to 65 p.c. among all over the age of 15. The blind of school age are maintained in special schools for them at provincial expense. There are six such schools in Canada, all provincially supported, and the provinces which do not provide them pay for the maintenance of their blind children in the schools of a neighbouring province. A list of these schools and the enrolment in them is shown in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada*.

In the larger cities of a majority of the provinces there are special classes in the public schools for children whose sight is very poor, the purpose being to conserve what vision they do possess. In Ontario the plan is carried into rural areas. A list of all such classes and their enrolment, amounting to about 300, is published in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada*.

Deaf-Mutes.—Unlike the blind, deaf-mutes are usually afflicted from birth or very early years. Of the 6,767 recorded by the 1931 Census, 4,093 had been without the power of hearing and speech from birth, 1,907 more from earlier than the age of 5.

The number reported under the age of 10 in 1931 was 798, between 10 and 19 was 1,519, indicating that all cases were probably not identified among young children. The proportion of deaf-mutes in the population has been practically constant, just over 6 per 10,000, at each census since 1911.

The number reported as gainfully occupied was 316 at ages 15-24, 1,057 at ages 25-49 and 595 over 50 years, or 1,968 in all. The proportion gainfully occupied in the 25-49 group was higher than in the case of the blind; it was nearly 50 p.c., although a higher proportion were women than among the blind. Earnings averaged a little higher than for the blind, over \$600 for the men on wage or salary—but in neither case were they high enough to make the group independent as a whole. To put it in another way, the average deaf-mute child does not grow up to be self-supporting. About two-thirds at ages 25-49 are unmarried.

The proportion of deaf-mutes over the age of 15 who were able to read increased from 66 p.c. to 72 p.c. between 1921 and 1931. Education of deaf children, like education of the blind, is regarded as a special responsibility by provincial governments, and their schools for the deaf are attended by about 1400. A list of the schools and enrolment in them has a place in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada*. This same publication includes a list of centres (confined to Ontario and British Columbia) where there are special classes in the ordinary schools for children who are hard-of-hearing. These enroll over 1,000 annually.

Detailed data on deaf-mutes are published in *Bulletin No. XLIV of the Census of 1931*.

Others Physically Handicapped.—Blindness and deaf-mutism are the only physical handicaps concerning which the census makes special inquiry, and little is known of the incidence of others. It is of interest to note, however, that in Ontario cities where special classes are conducted in the ordinary school systems for children with other serious physical defects, as well as for those with poor vision and hearing, the number of children involved is about the same for this miscellaneous group as for those with defective hearing. They include besides crippled and constitutionally weak children several classes in hospitals and sanatoria where children are confined for a considerable length of time.

In the five most westerly provinces and Nova Scotia there are correspondence courses available through the Departments of Education which may be taken by children incapacitated for actual school attendance, though the same courses are taken by normal children out of reach of a school, and there is no separate record of the number of invalids served.

Mental Cases.—In the decennial censuses from 1871 to 1911 the enumerators were asked to report as such all persons who were "mentally infirm" including those residing at home as well as in institutions. The obstacles to obtaining a complete record in this way must be obvious. The ratio of "mentally infirm" to total population varied in the five censuses from 23 to 31 in 10,000. As a part of the special Census of Institutions in 1931,* and annually since, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has made analyses of the population in mental institutions, and has found that their ratio to the total population has increased annually from 29 per 10,000 in 1930 to 35 per 10,000 in 1935. The increase has been due mainly to the addition of new hospital accommodation, but it is also noticeable that more overcrowding in the hospitals has been reported in the more recent years of the 1930-35 period. It may also be significant of trend over a longer period that the proportion of the population in mental hospitals now is higher than the proportion represented by all the "mentally infirm" in and out of institutions, located by census enumerators a few decades ago.

Of the 31,172 inmates of mental institutions at the date of the 1931 Census, 183 had been admitted younger than the age of 5, 1,102 at ages 5-9, 1,446 at ages 10-14 and 2,023 at 15-19. The most common ages of admission were 25 to 39, when the number in each five-year group was almost double that at 15 to 19. From this it would appear likely that in

*The compilations from which constitute Volume IX, Census of 1931, in which data on mental institutions are given in detail. Similar data have since been published annually in a separate report.

addition to the approximate 2,700 under the age of 20 in mental institutions at the date of the census, a further 20,000 of this group, or thereabouts, would be admitted by the time they had replaced the 20-39 group in the population, i.e., in twenty years. In other words, the proportion of the population that comes under the care of a mental institution before middle life is something like double the 30 or 35 per 10,000 of the population actually in mental institutions at a given date.

Of those admitted to mental institutions at ages 10-14 over one-half are unable to read and write, one-third of those admitted at ages 15-19, one-fifth at ages 20-24, and smaller proportions as the ages advance, indicating different mental conditions as cause of admission at different ages. Almost half of the women in mental institutions (46.7 p.c.) are married or widowed, only 27.6 p.c. of the men.

There are six institutions for mentally defective children, as distinguished from institutions for adults, in Canada. A list of them showing capacity and attendance is published in the *Annual Survey of Education in Canada*, also a list of the centres in which special classes are maintained in the ordinary school systems for children who are mentally retarded or psychopathic. These special classes have a longer history in Ontario than elsewhere, and are more generally offered there (have even been organized in rural areas), but larger cities all the way across the Dominion are now conducting them. There are about 5,600 pupils in Ontario special classes of this kind, and some 2,500 in other provinces. The classes average at least one-third smaller than ordinary, as also in the case of special classes for children with physical defects, making them somewhat more costly, but at the same time a better investment, it is claimed, due to the more effective teaching that is possible.

Delinquents.—Delinquency has much the same significance in relation to juvenile behaviour as has crime in relation to adult conduct. Major and minor delinquencies have their later parallels in indictable and non-indictable criminal offences. A high proportion of criminals have early records of delinquency, so in considering the extent and trends of youthful misconduct it is well to remember its cumulative consequences in the adult population.

Delinquency is predominantly a problem of the larger cities and, to a lesser degree, the towns. In rural communities there is not the cities' variety of offences open to boys, and there is more useful work to occupy their spare time. Nearly half of the delinquency cases before Canadian courts are in three cities—Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg—whose population is only about one-sixth of the Dominion total. Twelve of the larger cities, whose population is about one-fourth of the total, report between two-thirds and three-fourths of all delinquency cases. Offences are to the extent of more than 90 p.c. against property, more than 75 p.c. thefts or related acts.*

The annual number of convictions for major delinquencies in Canada has been over 5,000 since 1925, about 5 p.c. of cases being girls. Their percentage increase in post-War years has been somewhat more than the increase in population at the age, i.e., serious delinquencies have become relatively more prevalent, but at the same time they have not increased at nearly as fast a rate as adult crime. In the inter-censal period, 1921-31, convictions for serious adult (indictable) offences doubled, while convictions for serious juvenile offences (major delinquencies) increased only about 25 p.c.

Among the more than 5,000 juveniles convicted each year, about one-fourth have been before the court at least once before. Only about one-tenth are confined in a corrective or reformatory institution, but about half of them are obliged to remain under the supervision of the court.

The number under the age of 18 constituting a public charge to the extent of being confined to a corrective institution at the date of the 1931 Census was 1,715 boys and 638 girls. This was in addition to 106 boys and 3 girls in penitentiaries. For a study of the background and conditions of inmates there is Part IV of Volume IX of the Census of 1931, *Penitentiaries, Corrective and Reformatory Institutions*, and similar information for the year 1936 in preparation by the Institutions Branch of the Bureau.

*For statistics of delinquency the annual *Statistics of Criminal and Other Offences*, prepared by the Judicial Statistics Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, is the source.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING NOTES

The preceding chapters have shown the extent to which the period of youthful dependency has lengthened, the cost of raising a child through this period, and have examined in particular the trends in that part of the cost which is met out of public funds, viz., the cost of schooling. From here they indicated briefly the situation of children dependent on others than their own parents, and of those who are dependent in a special way because of defects. It is time now to consider some of the changing relationships of the youth group as a whole to the adult world.

Ability of the Adult Population to Support Children Longer.—The long-term tendency in Canada, as in most other western countries, has been toward a smaller proportion of children in the total population. Statement XX is arranged to show the extent of this trend at each census date since 1881 in different sections of the country.

XX.—NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE POPULATION UNDER THE AGE OF 16 FOR EACH 100 OF AGE 16 OR OLDER, CANADA AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS, 1881-1931

Census Year	Number under 16 per Hundred 16 and over				
	Canada	Western Provinces	Ontario	Quebec	Maritimes
1881.....	68	54	67	73	67
1891.....	61	38	58	71	62
1901.....	57	55	50	69	58
1911.....	53	48	46	68	57
1921.....	57	60	47	67	58
1931.....	51	68	42	60	56

There have been regional differences in trend, especially in the Western Provinces, due in large measure to changes in age distribution resulting from immigration, but in the Dominion as a whole, 1921 is the only year which does not conform and 1931 is lower than 1911. Yet the decline in proportion of children has not been nearly enough, in the present century at least, to offset the increasing number of years during which the average young person has to be considered economically as a child.

In Chapter I it was shown that children were independent at the age of 18 in 1931, at 17 in 1921, and at 16 in 1911. Taking into consideration this change, the proportion of children to adults is, in effect, not 57 per 100 in 1921 and 51 per 100 in 1931, but 75 and 65 respectively, as compared with 53 in 1911. Heavy immigration just before 1911 tended to make the proportion of children low in that year, but in 1901 it was only 57 to 100, and in 1891 only 61 to 100. Considering that children of these earlier decades were probably independent at earlier ages than in 1911, it seems very likely that the real ratio of dependent youth to adults was higher in 1921 and 1931 than it had ever been before, in spite of the superficial appearance of having fallen.

The proportion of children to adults may not, of course, be a reliable guide to the change in burden of child support. The productive capacity of the average adult may have increased, and probably has. A measure of the change in this respect will not be attempted; it will suffice here to notice that the average adult of recent years has been obliged to produce more goods and services on behalf of youth, even though the number of children at a given age, per adult, has been falling. It is a situation that is probably not without bearing on the steadily declining birth rate of recent years. A more constant figure than the annual number of births in recent years would be the number of births each year multiplied by the age at which the average youth of the year attained independence.

At the same time that the real ratio of youths to adults increases, the same thing is happening with the proportion of aged to working adults. In 1931 the proportion of persons over the age of 70 to persons of ages 16-69 was higher than it had ever been, and the prospect is a continued

increase. In their case the change in ratio is perhaps more directly significant, for the cost of their support to an increasing extent is being laid upon the whole population through the medium of Dominion taxation. Three-fourths of old age pensions are paid by the Dominion, and it appears that a majority of persons over 70 are now in receipt of pension. In the case of young persons support is mainly a family matter, and changes in the bare ratio of adults to them may come much shorter of indicating the whole story of change. Children may, for instance, be less or more evenly distributed among families than they used to be, but this phase of the change will not be examined here*. Let us recapitulate some of the effects on the position of the young people themselves.

The Position of Young People.—The adoption of old age pensions has been a practical recognition of increased dependency at the upper end of earning life, but there has been comparatively little done in Canada about the change at the lower end. There has been, of course, the general lengthening of schooling, described in Chapter I, and since the Technical Education Act of 1919 there has been a stimulus to diversity of instruction in the secondary schools, but even this has been a catering to lengthened boyhood or girlhood, rather than to earlier adulthood and independence. Some increase in the average length of schooling during recent decades has undoubtedly been permissible, or even desirable, but the tendency to keep the young people in the ordinary schools as boys and girls can hardly be allowed to go on indefinitely, as it seems inclined to do.

Expressing the situation the other way round, we may say from Chapter I that in the last twenty years Canadian industry has absorbed only the youth who have come of age in eighteen years, and in the last ten years only those who have come of age in nine years. In other words, it has come 10 p.c. short of absorbing the biological supply; the remaining 10 p.c. has remained in the schools. And in addition to those staying in school is the further large number who have fallen into idleness between school and their first job, or by reason of having made a mistaken or unfortunate start in employment. This latter number was shown to be large, even in comparatively normal years. In fact its most surprising feature is its relative constancy from one recent census to another, but as the age of leaving school becomes higher and higher, it represents a more and more serious problem. We have seen that independence is not now reached until young people are well on in their nineteenth year, and if the tendency of the last generation continues, they will in comparatively few years still be dependent on parents when reaching their twenties. The recent years of depression have served to focus attention on the situation, but the important point to recognize is that it is something much more than a passing phenomenon of a few difficult years.

There has been, and may yet be more, criticism of the cost of schools, but as Chapter III showed, the schools of recent years have, by any available measure, been giving as good or better value than before. Any increased expensiveness is more than accounted for by the increased work they have been called upon to do, especially in retaining children to older ages. And in any case, it appears from Chapter II, that criticism which confines itself to school costs is straining at a gnat while it uncomplainingly swallows a camel, for school costs constitute only about one-seventh of the total that is borne by society, in one way or another, when a child is raised to maturity. If any progress is to be made, it would appear that the problem of delayed productiveness of youth to which higher school costs are only incidental, must be attacked as a whole.

And it is something more than an economic problem. Delayed independence creates problems in the home, in the community, and in the lives of the individual boys and girls, that are only incidentally economic. They have received little space in these pages only because there is little of a statistical nature recorded concerning them.

Remedial Measures.—It is beyond the scope of this study to say what should be done about the lengthening dependency of youth. Our purpose is rather to show the problem in its real proportions, to set it in perspective. To suggest a solution would be to venture into the realm of controversy, for possible remedial measures are many and varied, and a choice among them depends in large measure upon one's particular philosophy. It would hardly be acceptable

*See the companion study *The Canadian Family* by A. J. Pelletier, F. D. Thompson and A. Rochon.

in Canada, for instance, to express a preference for compulsory military or labour service, such as have been adopted in some other countries to fill up the blank in the lives of young men. Nor is it in a study of this kind that judgment can be passed on such measures as obligatory shortening of the working week or retirement of older workers, restrictions on women's employment or on immigration, with a view to making room in Canadian industry for the rising generation of younger men.

There is another group of measures, however, developing in countries most closely akin to Canada, which contrast with those just mentioned inasmuch as they are based on volition rather than compulsion and are expansive rather than restrictive in nature and which may usefully be indicated in outline here by reason of their being still rather unfamiliar in Canada. The Dominion youth training programme inaugurated in 1937 belongs to this group.

The Department of Labour, which is responsible for administration of the Canadian youth training programme, classifies the projects being developed under it in four groups: (1) training projects of an occupational nature devised to increase the skill and employability of young people; (2) industrial learnership courses devised to provide theoretical training concurrent with employment; (3) work projects devised to conserve national resources, as well as train and recondition the young people participating; and (4) training projects of a physical nature to assist in the maintenance of health and morale. (British Columbia had a provincial scheme of the fourth kind in operation before the inauguration of the Dominion plan.) The aim is to provide in connection with all the projects, vocational guidance, recreation, and instruction in physical education. It is hoped by these means to make young persons more skilled and more fit, in this way facilitating their absorption into employment.

More or less kindred measures have been developed in the United States* under the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. It is not yet clear whether these will become permanent institutions in the national life, but already nearly two million young men have participated in the C.C.C. Camps since they were first organized in 1933. The main types of work pursued by the 1,500-2,600 camps have been forest culture and protection in a program designed to return millions of acres to production, control of soil erosion in drought areas, flood control, irrigation, drainage, transportation improvement, wild-life conservation, structural improvement, range development and parks improvement. Educational activities constitute an important part of life in the camps. The appropriation for education in the C.C.C. Camps during the current fiscal year is five million dollars. Each camp (averaging about 200 young men) has about 2,600 square feet of floor space for class rooms, shops, library, reading room, and office of the educational supervisor. A wide variety of vocational as well as general educational courses is available in the different camps, and these as well as the interest and discipline developed by "training on the job" help to prepare the youths for positions in business and industry.

Through the National Youth Administration since 1935 part-time employment has been made available to needy students in order that they might complete their high school or college education, and part-time employment with a training value has been provided for out-of-school youth. Vocational guidance is given by means of pamphlets and individual or group conferences, and placement activities are conducted in co-operation with regular public employment services in some cities where the Administration provides a special officer to deal with the applications of persons under the age of 25. This last-mentioned service is of a kind that has been developed in Great Britain over a long period of years. It is more general there, and perhaps more effective, by reason of the unified national character of the employment service, or "unemployment exchanges".

The central feature of the British plan is special attention to boys and girls through the medium of the employment service. An outline of the practice may be indicated by quoting from *The Year Book of Education*, 1936†. "The unemployment exchange system, which is substantially unaltered after twenty-six years of operation, was set up to assist employers to find suitable workers. From its earliest days the labour exchange system included unemployed boys and girls within

*A valuable recent reference on the youth problem in the United States is the November, 1937, number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (3457 Walnut St., Philadelphia). It is almost entirely devoted to *The Prospect for Youth*, and includes two dozen separate articles.

†Published by Evans Bros., London, W.C. 1.

its scope, and special provision was made for Juvenile Advisory Committees to be set up in each important district, to guide boys and girls in the choice of employment." (In some centres separate employment bureaus for juveniles were set up by local education authorities, but in 1927 these were brought under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour along with the juvenile sections of the general employment offices, and, throughout, a local committee in each centre has co-operated with the Government.) "During the last twenty-five years the work of advising school-leavers, registering vacancies and placing boys and girls in situations has developed enormously. In most parts of the country boys and girls are now given information and advice on choice of vocation before they leave school, school record cards are almost universally in use, surveys of local vocational opportunities have been made and parents are invited to school conferences or rota committees to discuss their children's future prospects."

Britain is a place of much earlier industrialization than Canada, and it is just possible that there is something of value to be learned by Canada in her experience, for as Chapter I showed, the Canadian problem is one that has been gradually developing over a long period of years as industrialization has proceeded: When the older generation of to-day were young, and the great majority of our people lived on farms, schooling was essentially an isolated incident in the lives of children for which time had to be taken off in the winter months from the child's chief pursuit, which was helping on the parental farm. To-day with a town-dwelling majority, and schooling having become the dominating pursuit during ten years of the lives of young people, an abrupt break between school and vocation has come into existence. We have become predominantly wage-earners where we used to be a population of independent workers, children taking up life's business where fathers left off, with the result that there is seldom assurance that children will follow the occupation of their parents; and the latter's ability to guide or assist them in making the necessary adjustments for entering other fields is usually very limited. In short, the home and accidental contacts should perhaps no longer be relied upon to supply the need for vocational guidance in the industrialized society into which we have been growing. And if this is so for the child in ordinary circumstances, it must be doubly true of the numerous children under the special circumstances described in Chapters IV and V.

There is special provision in Britain, too, through the Ministry of Labour, for the young people who have made false starts in employment. Special instructional provision for them was made an integral part of the Unemployment Insurance Act in 1934, and "junior instruction centres" for them have since been obligatory throughout the country. At these centres are given "such courses of instruction as may be necessary for persons in their area between the minimum age for entry into insurance and the age of 18 years who are capable of and available for work but have no work or only part-time or intermittent work." The minimum age for entry into unemployment insurance is "the statutory school-leaving age," and the scheme being under the control of the Minister of Labour, not the Minister of Education, places the emphasis on reaching down from the level of employment and independence to help the young people up, rather than let them drop back as boys and girls again, into the separate world of graded schools, or out into complete idleness.

Vocational Guidance.—Various policies designed to facilitate the passage of youth between school and employment in Great Britain and other countries aim not only to insure that young people find jobs, but to see that they find those for which they are best fitted by individual characteristics and training. Even with to-day's shorter working week a person's occupation usually engages the greater part of his waking hours, and he is an unfortunate drudge who finds nothing of value but his pay cheque in more than half of his life. Unless he is more than an ordinarily faithful servant, neither will his employer's best interests be served. So in older countries there have arisen institutes to examine the abilities, aptitudes and interests of young people, to advise them and their parents as to what types of work each child seems most suited for, and to help employers find the young people best fitted for the jobs they have to offer. Like tests of general intelligence, examinations of this kind have their limitations, but employers have attested their faith in them by paying for their scientific development and application.

Another phase of guidance is to acquaint parents and children with the nature of different occupations so they may more intelligently choose for themselves. Most of this work is done through the schools, and with the assistance or co-operation of government employment services,

as has already been mentioned in the case of England. Guidance of this kind starts early in the child's life, while he is still in the elementary school, so that in choosing which secondary school to attend he will not pick the technical school because it has distinguished itself in his estimation by winning, say, the intercollegiate football championship, or the academic high school because of a similar situation in hockey. We are assured by city secondary school principals that reasons of no greater logic than these are not infrequently the determining factor in deciding a child's further schooling and thus his future life, and that by adequate attention to inter-school records in athletics a particular school may increase its enrolment by a substantial percentage in a single year.

A few schools and school boards in Canada are pioneering in this field of vocational guidance, but no program on a scale as wide as provincial has yet been developed in any province. These pioneering activities may be portents of a coming practice which will help to close the gap that has developed between school and industry, and at the same time make for happier as well as more efficient working lives. The latter consideration is of more than secondary importance, for the very essence of democracy is in its assumption of worth in individual men and women; and they will be more likely to achieve this assumed value, both to themselves and to society, if they have the fullest opportunity for the development of their best but differing potentialities. This can only happen when, as nearly as can be, each youth enters the vocation best suited to his capabilities.

PART II

TABLE 1. Population 10 years of age and over, gainfully occupied and wage-earning populations, number of wage-earners stating earnings and average earnings per wage-earner stating earnings, by age group and sex, Canada, 1911-1931

No.	Age Group	Population			Gainfully Occupied		
		1911	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931
CANADA—							
1	Males.....	2,952,044	3,456,195	4,255,431	2,358,813	2,683,019	3,258,614
2	10-19.....	706,155	894,579	1,068,180		302,896	325,775
3	20-24.....	385,855	350,984	463,722	638,348	324,102	428,538
4	25-64.....	1,690,429	2,026,265	2,429,152	1,619,885	1,930,855	2,340,480
5	65 and over.....	169,605	214,367	294,377	100,580	125,167	163,821
6	Females.....	2,547,181	3,204,600	3,909,700	364,821	490,150	665,919
7	10-19.....	674,630	850,388	1,045,462		116,929	133,559
8	20-24.....	320,435	360,227	447,463	187,769	126,226	189,346
9	25-64.....	1,388,058	1,789,245	2,135,321	168,034	234,257	325,589
10	65 and over.....	164,158	204,740	281,454	9,018	12,738	17,425
Prince Edward Island—							
11	Males.....	36,802	35,040	35,903	27,956	27,052	27,815
12	10-19.....	10,849	9,289	9,422	7,600	3,349	3,427
13	20-24.....	3,955	3,520	3,800		3,300	3,603
14	25-64.....	18,215	17,803	18,109	17,579	17,220	17,583
15	65 and over.....	3,783	4,368	4,425	2,777	3,188	3,202
16	Females.....	36,772	34,189	33,423	3,950	4,054	4,353
17	10-19.....	10,250	8,819	8,887	1,829	897	963
18	20-24.....	4,131	3,512	3,194		1,141	1,087
19	25-64.....	18,350	17,707	17,057	1,857	1,758	1,985
20	65 and over.....	4,041	4,134	4,285	264	258	318
Nova Scotia—							
21	Males.....	192,491	205,303	207,022	148,991	156,777	153,139
22	10-19.....	51,697	55,239	56,044		17,658	15,190
23	20-24.....	22,076	21,520	22,817	38,743	19,762	20,755
24	25-64.....	101,203	109,982	108,012	97,700	106,522	103,709
25	65 and over.....	17,515	18,562	20,149	12,542	12,835	13,485
26	Females.....	184,592	197,849	195,265	24,370	28,779	27,944
27	10-19.....	50,172	53,885	53,793	12,343	6,820	5,807
28	20-24.....	21,443	22,261	20,404		7,975	7,553
29	25-64.....	94,491	102,372	100,578	10,973	12,662	13,235
30	65 and over.....	18,480	19,328	20,490	1,054	1,322	1,349
New Brunswick—							
31	Males.....	135,652	148,725	159,055	103,275	112,944	117,949
32	10-19.....	38,388	41,840	45,699		14,019	14,335
33	20-24.....	15,382	15,899	17,625	27,465	14,820	16,174
34	25-64.....	70,849	78,727	81,757	68,443	76,089	78,785
35	65 and over.....	11,033	12,263	13,974	7,367	8,016	8,655
36	Females.....	129,232	142,845	151,193	16,491	19,864	22,074
37	10-19.....	36,405	40,938	43,958	8,311	4,740	4,763
38	20-24.....	15,553	16,441	16,769		5,495	6,326
39	25-64.....	66,652	73,765	77,107	7,678	8,955	10,189
40	65 and over.....	10,622	11,701	13,359	602	674	796
Quebec—							
41	Males.....	733,214	863,214	1,091,061	552,140	646,440	820,250
42	10-19.....	212,145	257,362	305,688	165,029	98,971	103,900
43	20-24.....	90,985	97,868	130,733		89,684	119,908
44	25-64.....	384,402	453,928	586,119	363,117	429,499	562,354
45	65 and over.....	45,682	54,056	68,521	23,994	28,295	34,088
46	Females.....	717,474	864,708	1,075,806	101,101	139,151	202,489
47	10-19.....	210,567	260,247	309,979	52,866	36,796	45,483
48	20-24.....	91,410	104,549	136,383		34,649	56,495
49	25-64.....	369,641	445,722	559,767	45,463	63,475	95,466
50	65 and over.....	45,850	54,188	69,677	2,772	4,231	5,045
Ontario—							
51	Males.....	1,039,410	1,170,868	1,423,474	836,135	923,413	1,096,980
52	10-19.....	241,492	267,126	324,938		94,279	92,717
53	20-24.....	127,908	116,080	147,669	218,796	107,729	135,923
54	25-64.....	698,400	701,714	835,924	575,794	670,900	805,091
55	65 and over.....	71,610	85,948	114,943	41,545	50,514	62,249
56	Females.....	973,837	1,149,037	1,366,727	154,878	195,106	249,439
57	10-19.....	231,823	262,857	312,207	79,872	44,530	45,449
58	20-24.....	118,342	123,382	143,512		69,776	67,710
59	25-64.....	652,982	676,815	791,857	71,481	95,985	129,586
60	65 and over.....	70,690	85,983	119,151	3,525	4,805	6,664

¹ In 1911 no compilation was made of wage-earners under 15 years of age. Substitute 15 wherever 10 years of age is stated for 1911 figures. Also, no attempt was made to divide into age groups those wage-earners whose earnings were not stated, hence total number of wage-earners for that year can not be shown by age groups.

TABLE 1. Population 10 years of age and over, gainfully occupied and wage-earning populations, number of wage-earners stating earnings and average earnings per wage-earner stating earnings, by age group and sex, Canada, 1911-1931

Wage-Earners			Wage-Earners Stating Earnings			Average Earnings of Wage-Earners Stating Earnings			No.
1911 ¹	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931	
1,328,330	1,545,804	2,022,260	1,121,020	1,459,127	1,947,057	\$ 393	\$ 1,057	\$ 927	1
183,825	183,201	183,201	342,009	160,687	175,661	448	547	343	2
220,766	208,351	208,351	753,278	307,649	297,508	661	1,190	613	3
1,091,194	1,468,073	1,468,073	25,943	1,036,548	1,415,900	515	881	1,067	4
60,109	62,635	62,635	25,943	45,243	58,882	515	881	860	5
299,943	426,195	547,837	242,745	394,279	528,457	313	573	559	6
115,711	125,445	125,445	142,739	110,087	120,858	292	418	327	7
120,232	174,474	174,474	97,743	114,227	169,633	349	622	533	8
183,910	241,892	241,892	2,263	165,415	232,500	232	340	715	9
6,342	6,026	6,026	2,263	4,550	5,376	232	340	400	10
7,227	8,125	9,159	5,388	7,190	8,580	378	657	679	11
1,381	1,369	1,369	1,882	1,218	1,276	206	314	260	12
1,418	1,821	1,821	3,281	1,256	1,713	440	797	844	13
4,802	5,480	5,480	225	4,257	5,139	215	630	638	14
524	492	492	225	459	453	215	630	638	15
2,785	3,240	3,185	1,025	2,952	3,000	209	334	364	16
888	829	829	1,151	838	864	191	245	238	17
1,038	1,003	1,003	746	969	953	237	361	363	18
1,214	1,194	1,194	28	1,058	1,128	189	335	469	19
109	89	89	28	87	65	189	232	212	20
82,776	93,314	95,244	71,340	88,690	91,229	481	890	762	21
12,849	9,950	9,950	24,400	11,866	9,142	371	507	331	22
14,969	15,944	15,944	40,313	14,271	15,242	538	746	526	23
61,652	65,491	65,491	2,537	59,093	62,964	430	1,010	883	24
3,844	4,153	4,153	2,537	3,460	3,881	430	736	692	25
19,459	24,770	22,537	15,366	22,957	21,462	232	423	431	26
6,772	5,471	5,471	9,249	5,401	5,167	207	300	250	27
7,746	6,924	6,924	5,876	7,386	6,701	273	447	410	28
9,647	9,667	9,667	242	8,692	9,174	200	501	554	29
605	475	475	242	469	420	200	262	350	30
55,153	63,213	66,310	49,187	60,006	64,137	435	879	753	31
8,660	7,160	7,160	15,892	8,128	6,865	321	479	284	32
10,609	11,404	11,404	31,933	10,090	11,025	492	713	479	33
41,338	45,083	45,083	1,662	39,418	43,731	442	1,010	901	34
2,608	2,654	2,654	1,662	2,370	2,516	442	736	709	35
13,020	17,096	17,922	11,354	15,973	17,356	236	455	437	36
4,703	4,439	4,439	6,516	4,474	4,257	213	326	235	37
5,295	5,769	5,769	4,676	5,085	5,643	270	477	419	38
6,805	7,443	7,443	162	6,186	7,199	218	530	578	39
293	273	273	162	228	247	218	294	319	40
309,022	386,969	535,203	275,017	359,097	515,359	563	1,030	925	41
56,494	57,896	57,896	90,601	51,184	55,682	417	541	348	42
61,210	86,527	86,527	177,801	56,290	83,498	640	859	620	43
256,295	375,723	375,723	7,215	239,987	302,021	515	1,153	1,083	44
12,969	15,058	15,058	7,215	11,639	14,158	515	860	880	45
84,054	117,786	161,139	65,950	105,509	155,457	299	480	476	46
36,138	42,788	42,788	40,379	34,226	41,427	298	247	306	47
32,482	51,040	51,040	24,815	30,159	49,545	305	517	460	48
46,990	65,763	65,763	750	39,682	63,104	218	569	607	49
2,196	1,555	1,555	750	1,442	1,381	218	331	364	50
409,579	586,125	752,861	440,776	559,018	728,483	582	1,102	1,005	51
65,490	65,645	65,645	131,815	61,793	61,177	438	551	374	52
79,121	108,839	108,839	290,801	75,377	105,337	648	888	663	53
418,852	655,889	655,889	12,160	401,958	536,974	520	1,234	1,140	54
22,662	26,461	26,461	12,160	20,793	24,975	520	928	932	55
128,493	173,127	212,750	110,565	162,759	205,904	309	613	636	56
44,283	43,351	43,351	63,620	42,471	41,988	280	462	389	57
47,297	63,230	63,230	46,015	45,256	61,608	351	676	600	58
79,025	105,420	105,420	921	73,139	99,834	257	667	768	59
2,522	2,755	2,755	921	1,884	2,474	257	366	431	60

TABLE 1. Population 10 years of age and over, gainfully occupied and wage-earning populations, number of wage-earners stating earnings and average earnings per wage-earner stating earnings, by age group and sex, Canada, 1911-1931—Con.

No.	Age Group	Population			Gainfully Occupied		
		1911	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931
Manitoba—							
1	Males.....	191,917	240,270	298,016	155,900	184,961	225,768
2	10-19.....	44,327	60,988	77,625	43,553	19,579	22,944
3	20-24.....	28,416	23,955	32,687		22,188	30,205
4	25-64.....	113,125	144,952	168,353	108,962	137,403	163,043
5	65 and over.....	6,049	10,377	19,341	3,385	5,791	9,676
6	Females.....	150,153	211,232	271,649	22,206	31,682	44,922
7	10-19.....	42,292	59,473	75,897	12,407	7,609	9,178
8	20-24.....	21,504	23,930	31,672		8,411	14,354
9	25-64.....	81,393	119,234	159,815	9,555	15,237	20,614
10	65 and over.....	4,964	8,595	24,265	244	425	796
Saskatchewan—							
11	Males.....	224,149	301,988	389,977	195,247	242,116	301,418
12	10-19.....	44,251	74,293	107,263	55,868	26,642	33,637
13	20-24.....	37,990	29,913	43,967		28,499	41,769
14	25-64.....	136,917	187,933	221,061	135,882	181,098	215,515
15	65 and over.....	4,991	9,849	17,680	3,497	5,877	10,497
16	Females.....	138,190	235,109	315,184	13,275	24,859	37,505
17	10-19.....	38,577	70,143	103,806	6,938	5,968	7,553
18	20-24.....	19,813	27,068	37,928		6,672	12,499
19	25-64.....	76,338	130,619	160,125	6,111	11,830	16,584
20	65 and over.....	3,471	7,279	13,325	226	389	869
Alberta—							
21	Males.....	174,854	245,569	319,757	149,687	195,102	252,793
22	10-19.....	33,727	55,637	78,135	39,859	16,748	22,287
23	20-24.....	28,028	23,672	34,701		22,033	32,966
24	25-64.....	109,542	158,187	192,069	107,374	151,807	187,889
25	65 and over.....	3,557	8,073	14,852	2,454	4,512	9,651
26	Females.....	106,439	187,912	256,254	11,923	21,142	33,425
27	10-19.....	29,596	52,273	75,500	5,950	4,433	6,094
28	20-24.....	14,212	21,079	30,397		5,683	10,780
29	25-64.....	60,162	108,853	133,553	5,825	10,795	16,837
30	65 and over.....	2,469	5,714	10,804	148	331	714
British Columbia—							
31	Males.....	215,868	240,449	327,630	189,482	194,214	262,508
32	10-19.....	28,478	41,927	61,985	41,435	11,662	16,338
33	20-24.....	30,461	18,154	29,055		16,085	27,235
34	25-64.....	151,705	169,728	214,534	145,028	160,326	206,511
35	65 and over.....	6,224	10,639	22,056	3,019	6,141	12,418
36	Females.....	107,242	179,193	253,995	16,627	25,513	43,768
37	10-19.....	24,145	40,996	60,184	7,253	6,136	8,269
38	20-24.....	13,692	17,747	26,742		6,524	12,662
39	25-64.....	66,012	112,734	151,113	9,191	13,569	22,063
40	65 and over.....	3,383	7,716	15,956	183	303	644

TABLE 1. Population 10 years of age and over, gainfully occupied and wage-earning populations, number of wage-earners stating earnings and average earnings per wage-earner stating earnings, by age group and sex, Canada, 1911-1931—Con.

Wage-Earners			Wage-Earners Stating Wages			Average Earnings of Wage-Earners Stating Wages			No.
1911 ¹	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931	1911 ¹	1921	1931	
						\$	\$	\$	
91,427	99,750	132,883	70,107	94,470	128,382	706	1,162	929	1
	10,647	11,191		9,567	10,710		562	315	2
	13,621	20,212	22,021	12,874	19,526	514	851	550	3
	73,496	98,122	47,440	70,263	95,018	796	1,304	1,077	4
	1,993	3,358	646	1,772	3,128	663	1,016	909	5
19,095	28,341	37,856	14,678	26,073	36,565	398	693	559	6
	7,555	8,655		7,211	8,278		498	276	7
	8,184	13,453	8,014	7,877	13,096	368	736	509	8
	12,425	15,534	5,710	11,450	15,001	447	788	758	9
	177	214	52	129	190	313	1,016	446	10
70,454	82,677	116,157	44,845	76,492	111,099	636	1,030	761	11
	10,149	10,790		9,095	10,207		532	264	12
	14,185	21,449	16,140	13,126	20,609	493	786	458	13
	57,233	81,998	28,507	53,437	78,523	718	1,179	906	14
	1,116	1,920	192	924	1,760	588	815	701	15
10,229	21,313	29,411	6,290	19,623	27,959	387	663	524	16
	5,881	6,748		5,472	6,323		474	254	17
	6,460	11,487	3,898	6,155	11,081	366	759	535	18
	8,827	10,090	2,379	7,898	10,396	423	717	680	19
	139	180	22	98	159	295	343	346	20
66,450	84,525	116,005	46,221	79,157	112,481	707	1,143	890	21
	8,172	8,237		7,581	7,905		603	345	22
	11,919	18,508	14,586	11,292	17,967	557	843	566	23
	63,204	86,945	31,412	59,241	84,415	778	1,271	1,012	24
	1,230	2,315	223	1,043	2,194	726	996	842	25
9,270	18,205	26,416	6,495	16,881	25,462	405	701	599	26
	4,384	5,370		4,125	5,155		499	329	27
	5,434	9,837	3,903	5,235	9,582	368	759	582	28
	8,250	578	2,572	7,432	10,666	462	774	749	29
	137	174	20	89	159	330	428	412	30
145,342	141,190	198,448	118,439	134,101	188,207	717	1,048	897	31
	9,989	13,252		9,345	12,697		599	397	32
	13,714	23,627	27,266	13,073	22,571	611	854	674	33
	114,324	155,345	90,090	108,897	147,121	750	1,114	980	34
	3,163	6,224	1,083	2,786	5,818	655	870	714	35
13,532	22,308	36,618	10,115	20,961	35,292	445	676	623	36
	5,107	7,704		4,869	7,389		492	342	37
	6,310	11,721	5,101	6,096	11,424	420	724	608	38
	10,727	16,868	4,954	9,872	16,188	465	570	757	39
	164	335	60	124	291	250	443	420	40

TABLE 2. Population 5-24 years of age and percentages attending school, by single years of age, Canada, 1911-1931

Age	1911		1921		1931	
	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School
CANADA—						
5-24 years	2,866,524	46.24	3,471,744	49.27	4,152,175	51.59
5 "	164,388	14.00	215,572	14.06	222,257	11.29
6 "	160,961	44.54	217,581	51.85	226,080	53.13
7 "	158,492	72.24	212,413	81.94	225,364	86.97
8 "	154,297	82.18	208,083	90.64	228,481	94.45
9 "	143,918	85.85	194,045	93.12	228,850	96.15
6-9 "	617,668	70.68	888,128	78.86	908,787	88.74
10 "	148,243	86.29	194,229	94.09	231,834	97.09
11 "	135,112	86.96	179,487	94.31	218,283	97.18
12 "	140,964	83.98	187,773	92.74	211,696	96.12
13 "	134,465	77.81	175,043	88.07	203,240	92.77
14 "	140,776	63.33	175,773	73.39	207,594	83.33
10-14 "	699,565	79.70	912,505	88.71	1,072,647	95.44
15 "	135,187	42.38	163,871	51.29	204,908	66.67
16 "	137,119	24.79	168,439	32.63	215,532	45.98
17 "	133,894	14.10	159,925	19.59	210,297	28.49
18 "	141,238	7.72	161,860	11.23	210,667	16.52
19 "	132,160	4.53	146,998	6.85	196,961	9.53
15-19 "	679,598	18.69	801,085	24.79	1,058,305	55.87
20-24 "	705,307	1.33	710,652	2.27	910,121	2.53
Prince Edward Island—						
5-24 years	39,349	44.84	34,833	48.94	34,929	52.11
5 "	1,955	10.69	2,013	12.22	1,883	9.61
6 "	2,111	39.65	1,959	44.92	1,891	53.94
7 "	2,041	70.90	1,968	76.58	1,894	84.82
8 "	2,074	83.41	1,937	89.69	1,968	95.07
9 "	1,983	88.75	1,869	92.85	1,854	97.03
6-9 "	8,809	70.54	7,735	75.65	7,677	88.95
10 "	2,149	90.94	1,892	93.87	1,908	97.80
11 "	2,048	92.29	1,753	94.05	1,914	97.60
12 "	2,083	89.77	1,925	92.88	1,944	96.40
13 "	2,048	86.47	1,844	88.34	1,796	94.77
14 "	2,197	74.69	1,951	78.22	1,843	53.88
10-14 "	10,516	89.71	9,538	89.57	9,408	94.16
15 "	2,126	57.38	1,770	58.81	1,784	62.07
16 "	2,272	29.62	1,859	39.32	1,738	39.53
17 "	2,192	15.60	1,791	20.16	1,858	23.04
18 "	2,111	6.35	1,694	10.15	1,811	12.31
19 "	1,880	3.72	1,596	6.70	1,685	8.43
15-19 "	10,581	25.06	8,710	27.09	8,904	29.15
20-24 "	8,086	1.27	7,032	2.49	7,060	2.88
Nova Scotia—						
5-24 years	261,959	44.53	212,771	49.04	210,244	54.59
5 "	11,559	15.76	12,096	14.49	11,260	19.71
6 "	11,491	48.54	12,091	48.61	11,429	62.05
7 "	11,328	74.78	12,185	76.75	11,293	85.82
8 "	10,961	83.91	12,022	87.51	11,461	93.74
9 "	10,332	87.46	11,471	90.77	11,741	96.24
6-9 "	44,118	75.18	47,770	75.70	45,980	84.55
10 "	10,765	88.64	11,856	92.32	12,045	97.15
11 "	9,904	89.43	10,950	93.24	11,563	97.35
12 "	10,445	86.82	11,762	91.53	11,404	96.77
13 "	9,963	82.11	11,196	88.49	10,598	94.65
14 "	10,669	70.79	11,471	78.44	10,928	86.91
10-14 "	51,749	85.48	57,898	88.80	56,538	94.67
15 "	10,114	51.74	10,413	59.31	10,543	71.75
16 "	10,492	30.99	11,183	37.35	11,002	48.75
17 "	10,010	16.68	10,496	21.58	10,979	30.29
18 "	10,127	9.50	10,436	12.23	10,837	16.62
19 "	9,380	5.48	9,331	7.09	9,938	9.08

TABLE 2. Population 5-24 years of age and percentages attending school, by single years of age, Canada, 1911-1931—Con.

Age	1911		1921		1931	
	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School
Nova Scotia—Con.						
15-19 years.....	50,125	25.20	51,859	28.08	55,299	33.37
20-24 ".....	43,519	1.39	43,781	2.38	43,221	2.89
New Brunswick—						
5-24 years.....	146,975	42.67	162,067	45.62	174,368	51.06
5 ".....	8,474	6.73	9,608	6.68	9,957	4.36
6 ".....	8,424	35.66	9,640	38.17	10,113	44.31
7 ".....	8,377	65.99	9,471	72.40	9,806	83.81
8 ".....	8,301	80.10	9,435	83.97	10,239	91.85
9 ".....	7,671	84.88	8,799	88.24	10,202	94.23
10-14 ".....	32,775	68.19	37,544	70.22	40,560	78.59
10 ".....	7,980	87.01	8,989	89.59	10,147	95.75
11 ".....	7,485	87.51	8,626	89.64	9,531	95.51
12 ".....	7,643	85.58	9,064	88.50	9,293	94.55
13 ".....	7,379	81.30	8,568	83.38	8,999	89.63
14 ".....	7,740	69.27	8,531	70.62	8,848	77.51
15-19 ".....	58,259	58.15	65,776	84.46	68,808	90.86
15 ".....	7,417	52.96	7,882	52.47	8,688	60.62
16 ".....	7,583	30.99	8,215	33.16	8,822	42.61
17 ".....	7,322	18.12	7,725	18.90	8,799	27.11
18 ".....	7,527	9.11	8,049	9.67	8,548	15.63
19 ".....	6,705	4.94	7,128	6.00	8,022	8.70
20-24 ".....	39,564	29.59	59,008	84.45	68,843	91.59
25-29 ".....	30,935	1.35	32,336	1.74	34,394	2.68
Quebec—						
5-24 years.....	862,172	42.68	1,026,817	47.75	1,236,626	47.53
5 ".....	54,120	18.78	63,164	18.23	71,851	10.07
6 ".....	52,735	49.52	62,421	54.97	71,861	47.32
7 ".....	52,175	78.32	62,280	83.19	70,551	84.06
8 ".....	50,551	88.83	61,504	91.82	70,397	93.74
9 ".....	47,478	90.05	57,422	94.10	69,183	95.49
10-14 ".....	202,939	75.15	245,087	80.71	281,902	79.98
10 ".....	47,526	90.20	57,739	94.89	67,785	96.52
11 ".....	43,179	89.62	54,437	94.20	63,691	96.40
12 ".....	44,904	84.58	55,955	90.70	61,957	93.71
13 ".....	43,379	75.59	53,192	81.03	61,525	85.63
14 ".....	43,310	54.53	53,378	60.71	60,851	67.73
15-19 ".....	222,547	78.76	274,611	84.58	315,609	88.26
15 ".....	42,069	31.28	50,615	39.44	59,537	48.77
16 ".....	41,466	17.57	51,237	24.66	61,681	32.17
17 ".....	39,878	10.40	48,891	15.03	60,368	19.72
18 ".....	40,258	5.45	48,321	8.10	61,423	10.69
19 ".....	36,694	3.23	43,504	4.89	56,907	6.04
20-24 ".....	200,366	15.97	242,298	18.93	292,558	25.60
25-29 ".....	182,401	1.22	202,417	1.91	267,116	2.11
Ontario—						
5-24 years.....	963,367	41.84	1,077,066	50.26	1,261,268	54.40
5 ".....	50,085	15.00	62,845	18.40	64,577	18.16
6 ".....	49,477	49.53	65,571	59.04	66,393	54.67
7 ".....	49,416	78.55	62,337	85.09	66,906	90.86
8 ".....	48,836	86.79	61,420	92.85	67,679	95.84
9 ".....	45,988	89.37	57,458	94.65	67,387	97.25
10-14 ".....	193,717	75.66	244,776	82.93	268,566	87.84
10 ".....	48,076	89.75	57,962	95.48	69,825	97.97
11 ".....	44,600	90.05	54,163	95.73	65,240	98.22
12 ".....	46,743	88.27	57,008	95.31	62,584	97.71
13 ".....	45,197	83.56	53,152	92.93	59,063	96.72
14 ".....	48,848	68.33	53,267	78.70	61,580	90.40
15-19 ".....	239,464	83.54	275,558	91.76	315,257	96.27

TABLE 2. Population 5-24 years of age and percentages attending school, by single years of age, Canada, 1911-1931—Con.

Age	1911		1921		1931	
	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School
Ontario—Con.						
15 years	46,990	45.75	50,794	53.79	61,236	77.04
16 "	48,230	26.58	53,051	33.89	60,301	53.34
17 "	47,440	15.07	50,836	20.98	64,744	31.84
18 "	49,706	9.08	52,298	13.00	65,052	19.57
19 "	47,479	5.67	47,452	8.59	61,555	11.88
15-19 "	239,861	20.29	264,481	20.27	318,888	38.04
20-24 "	246,250	1.70	239,462	2.92	291,181	3.65
Manitoba—5-24 years	187,968	36.54	248,545	50.87	293,615	52.60
5 "	11,233	7.45	16,461	6.62	14,255	6.20
6 "	11,065	34.07	17,141	48.29	14,787	54.32
7 "	10,373	62.78	16,163	79.98	15,067	87.88
8 "	9,863	73.63	15,838	89.63	15,816	94.57
9 "	8,973	78.86	14,598	92.75	15,809	96.43
6-9 "	40,214	61.11	63,740	76.78	61,479	83.78
10 "	9,427	78.26	14,460	94.27	16,288	96.99
11 "	8,299	81.02	12,919	94.90	15,142	97.27
12 "	8,807	78.88	13,590	93.80	15,328	90.94
13 "	8,274	76.58	12,549	91.43	14,375	95.82
14 "	8,596	66.48	12,547	79.48	15,357	87.32
10-14 "	43,408	76.38	66,008	90.94	76,487	94.87
15 "	8,420	48.85	11,234	58.55	15,197	69.81
16 "	8,480	30.61	11,565	37.66	15,907	50.54
17 "	8,467	17.59	10,784	22.15	15,418	31.24
18 "	9,373	9.42	10,991	12.39	15,500	17.87
19 "	8,476	4.98	9,877	7.23	14,953	9.86
15-19 "	48,216	21.99	64,481	28.28	77,053	36.98
20-24 "	49,920	1.27	47,885	2.06	64,359	2.79
Saskatchewan—5-24 years	194,357	30.71	367,867	49.81	404,173	53.42
5 "	12,053	8.35	22,748	9.11	21,594	5.95
6 "	11,417	31.30	22,814	43.86	22,095	44.07
7 "	10,862	53.92	21,399	78.37	22,066	85.33
8 "	10,220	65.65	20,458	88.72	22,259	94.62
9 "	9,194	71.45	19,043	91.81	23,204	95.94
6-9 "	41,698	64.47	83,702	74.56	89,615	80.82
10 "	9,563	71.09	18,341	92.80	23,394	90.88
11 "	8,262	74.96	15,838	93.82	22,421	97.09
12 "	8,591	72.33	16,820	92.87	21,985	90.95
13 "	7,636	68.66	14,813	90.62	21,090	96.28
14 "	8,098	57.73	15,342	75.69	21,140	91.99
10-14 "	42,180	69.29	81,134	89.38	119,090	95.88
15 "	7,362	40.33	13,218	51.79	20,780	68.59
16 "	7,591	23.75	13,351	32.89	21,345	45.05
17 "	7,565	11.80	12,459	18.88	20,614	28.99
18 "	9,218	5.90	12,592	10.17	19,841	17.82
19 "	8,922	2.60	11,641	5.70	18,455	10.70
15-19 "	40,658	1.68	68,232	24.56	101,039	34.09
20-24 "	57,808	0.60	56,981	1.40	81,895	2.31
Alberta—5-24 years	145,073	30.23	228,484	50.15	299,837	51.87
5 "	8,022	6.66	16,030	5.63	15,743	3.24
6 "	8,300	26.95	16,440	38.38	16,105	39.50
7 "	8,032	51.46	15,561	77.04	16,020	86.06
8 "	7,620	61.05	14,457	87.88	16,497	94.01
9 "	6,930	65.22	13,336	90.80	16,739	95.73
6-9 "	30,888	60.88	59,794	79.10	65,801	79.02
10 "	7,232	67.52	13,273	92.37	17,210	97.07
11 "	6,286	69.14	11,661	93.05	16,321	97.36

TABLE 2. Population 5-24 years of age and percentages attending school, by single years of age, Canada, 1911-1931—Con.

Age	1911		1921		1931	
	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School	No. at Age	P.C. at School
Alberta—Con.						
12 years.....	6,599	68.01	12,227	92.70	15,807	97.46
13 ".....	5,959	65.83	11,379	91.34	14,906	96.81
14 ".....	6,254	57.10	10,711	86.85	15,234	94.00
10-14 ".....	32,540	68.61	59,851	91.38	79,484	96.56
15 ".....	5,817	46.47	10,179	66.91	15,060	77.23
16 ".....	5,980	27.99	10,130	43.78	15,688	54.85
17 ".....	5,743	16.40	9,505	25.04	15,007	37.26
18 ".....	6,900	7.38	9,827	13.32	14,748	22.42
19 ".....	6,543	4.10	9,018	7.71	13,642	12.23
15-19 ".....	30,983	19.68	48,669	38.19	74,151	41.56
20-24 ".....	42,240	1.01	44,744	1.80	65,098	2.76
British Columbia—						
5-24 years.....	126,189	31.99	173,060	51.56	237,115	63.56
5 ".....	6,287	5.01	10,601	5.04	11,121	5.42
6 ".....	5,941	32.45	11,504	46.65	11,425	56.95
7 ".....	5,888	66.39	11,058	83.62	11,791	89.55
8 ".....	5,931	75.45	10,984	89.80	12,165	93.74
9 ".....	5,363	78.86	10,089	91.99	12,637	95.81
6-9 ".....	23,123	68.89	43,655	77.57	48,018	84.50
10 ".....	5,527	78.72	9,774	92.20	13,229	96.76
11 ".....	5,040	79.54	9,110	85.89	12,460	96.64
12 ".....	5,089	77.74	9,392	92.95	11,434	96.53
13 ".....	4,642	75.46	8,442	92.08	10,892	96.30
14 ".....	5,058	71.45	8,575	84.43	11,808	93.32
10-14 ".....	25,366	76.84	45,895	91.80	59,825	95.99
15 ".....	4,866	50.84	7,766	66.71	12,095	82.51
16 ".....	5,025	30.60	7,837	45.80	13,002	60.09
17 ".....	5,277	16.88	7,397	28.42	12,600	38.85
18 ".....	6,018	7.99	7,623	16.33	12,845	21.22
19 ".....	6,081	4.44	7,007	8.66	11,804	11.51
15-19 ".....	27,267	20.71	37,650	35.79	62,546	48.94
20-24 ".....	44,153	0.98	35,901	2.56	55,797	2.96

CENSUS OF CANADA, 1931

TABLE 3. Annual enrolments in publicly-controlled day schools, Canada and provinces, 1911-1936

Year	Total Number Enrolled									
	Canada ¹	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec ²	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1911.....	1,361,205	17,397	102,910	68,951	389,123	518,605	80,848	72,260	61,660	49,451
1912.....	—	17,078	103,984	69,199	400,038	527,570	—	81,896	70,414	50,170
1913.....	1,470,844	17,555	105,269	69,663	411,784	544,138	83,679	101,463	70,909	57,384
1914.....	1,555,632	19,099	106,351	70,622	435,895	563,889	93,954	113,985	89,910	61,957
1915.....	1,603,032	18,402	107,768	72,013	448,087	571,387	100,963	122,862	97,286	64,264
1916.....	1,626,144	18,362	109,189	73,007	464,853	583,727	103,796	129,439	99,201	64,570
1917.....	1,650,809	18,190	109,032	71,951	463,809	565,559	106,588	142,617	107,727	65,118
1918.....	1,674,943	17,861	108,097	71,782	467,033	569,394	109,925	151,328	111,109	67,516
1919.....	1,780,395	17,587	106,982	71,029	492,829	589,514	114,662	164,219	121,567	72,006
1920.....	1,826,571	17,354	108,096	72,988	504,914	609,849	123,452	174,925	135,750	79,243
1921.....	1,880,805	17,510	109,483	73,771	518,410	637,467	129,015	184,871	124,328	85,050
1922.....	1,964,854	18,323	114,239	77,832	536,938	661,880	136,876	183,935	142,902	91,019
1923.....	2,009,125	17,742	114,458	78,887	543,569	677,106	142,369	194,313	145,803	94,883
1924.....	2,029,274	17,281	111,594	79,452	547,880	682,906	144,491	204,154	145,312	96,204
1925.....	2,084,588	17,427	112,352	80,360	555,721	692,653	145,834	206,595	145,692	97,954
1926.....	2,085,473	17,324	112,391	81,330	559,108	703,614	148,279	213,404	148,245	101,888
1927.....	2,119,634	17,219	112,556	81,916	563,704	720,625	148,763	218,560	151,292	105,005
1928.....	2,153,626	17,214	112,898	83,271	571,135	731,258	150,883	223,409	155,741	109,178
1929.....	2,184,570	17,189	113,900	84,370	582,061	738,477	150,617	227,263	161,235	109,538
1930.....	2,220,359	17,277	115,860	85,838	589,386	756,812	151,846	230,492	165,796	113,914
1931.....	2,264,106	17,506	115,511	86,838	606,130	772,388	153,559	232,193	167,675	115,910
1932.....	2,285,925	17,846	116,041	89,755	618,597	778,972	151,927	239,168	172,922	118,816
1933.....	2,287,171	18,247	117,238	90,888	624,405	774,868	150,070	236,007	168,992	118,816
1934.....	2,285,925	18,358	117,839	92,708	632,266	—	147,253	234,543	168,924	115,792
1935.....	2,242,351	18,247	116,798	92,288	638,885	724,870	144,741	221,335	167,954	117,233
1936.....	—	18,183	116,888	92,956	—	673,706	142,482	217,247	167,193	116,722

¹Nine provinces only.²Half year only.

Starting in 1935 the enrolment in Ontario elementary schools is for the school year, thus eliminating some forty-odd thousand that used to be duplicated when enrolment was for calendar year.

³The Quebec figures in this table include private or independent schools. The figures for other provinces do not.

TABLE 4. Annual average attendance per day in publicly-controlled day schools, Canada and provinces, 1911-1936

Year	Average Daily Attendance									
	Canada ¹	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec ²	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1911.....	870,532	10,511	61,250	42,791	301,678	305,648	45,303	38,278	32,556	32,517
1912.....	—	10,918	63,640	43,585	314,520	323,358	—	49,329	39,220	37,384
1913.....	978,862	11,003	65,686	44,375	324,447	340,223	45,163	50,005	45,869	43,072
1914.....	1,051,938	11,170	68,599	44,534	344,657	357,610	48,778	55,009	54,502	49,060
1915.....	1,112,769	11,694	70,361	47,889	360,897	367,959	48,259	72,113	61,112	52,494
1916.....	1,118,522	11,347	69,227	48,069	373,754	366,891	66,561	71,522	60,271	50,880
1917.....	1,143,212	11,319	70,118	48,860	367,868	371,120	69,209	88,758	65,374	52,577
1918.....	1,161,919	11,334	67,923	46,515	369,426	382,506	69,968	91,010	68,489	54,748
1919.....	1,187,191	10,908	65,906	45,797	370,710	391,539	72,072	98,791	74,779	56,692
1920.....	1,234,092	10,901	66,442	46,350	379,319	398,204	88,563	101,355	82,417	59,791
1921.....	1,249,256	11,440	78,238	49,714	401,635	450,656	89,137	113,412	89,401	68,997
1922.....	1,345,590	12,338	79,410	51,668	426,466	475,891	95,433	119,041	100,515	75,528
1923.....	1,468,633	11,763	83,472	53,745	426,935	482,068	98,787	130,499	103,618	77,752
1924.....	1,503,338	11,783	79,509	58,366	430,185	496,673	103,775	139,782	104,003	79,262
1925.....	1,540,420	12,250	80,318	58,397	443,741	508,044	104,312	144,560	105,978	82,721
1926.....	1,564,840	11,823	80,446	58,731	448,252	512,175	106,809	152,430	108,881	85,293
1927.....	1,600,407	11,777	81,426	61,070	452,787	528,485	106,793	157,392	112,401	88,306
1928.....	1,633,320	12,123	82,591	62,205	461,238	535,691	114,270	157,207	116,245	91,760
1929.....	1,704,665	12,144	84,275	63,312	468,537	583,334	116,766	161,658	120,229	94,410
1930.....	1,746,451	12,201	85,080	65,726	478,682	592,265	117,037	169,893	129,371	96,196
1931.....	1,801,958	12,721	87,418	70,856	502,890	597,164	120,703	176,716	134,112	99,575
1932.....	1,830,823	13,119	89,513	71,423	518,521	606,867	122,843	179,916	136,711	103,510
1933.....	1,856,907	13,810	93,966	72,204	525,215	613,084	121,190	175,002	137,558	104,978
1934.....	—	13,399	93,294	72,109	542,353	—	120,314	175,457	139,155	105,406
1935.....	1,862,236	13,496	90,565	70,757	639,441	614,249	117,379	174,322	136,202	104,824
1936.....	—	13,140	92,276	71,132	—	600,440	115,671	164,104	132,725	101,873

¹Nine provinces only.²The Quebec figures in this table include private or independent schools. The figures for other provinces do not.

Starting in 1935 the enrolment in Ontario elementary schools is for the school year whereas it was formerly for the calendar year. Hence no figure is available for 1934.

TABLE 5. Support of the publicly-controlled schools in the provinces, Canada, 1914-1936

Note.—The receipts shown in the following tables do not include any amounts raised by loans, or the sale of bonds or debentures, as all revenue of this nature must be repaid ultimately with money raised by local taxation. With the exception of the Maritime Provinces, for which the information is not available, the total debenture indebtedness of the schools of each province is given annually, thus showing the net increase or decrease per year.

Fiscal Year Ending	Government Grants ¹	Taxation within School Administrative Units	School Board Revenue from Counties	Fees	Total Current Revenue Recorded	Debenture Indebtedness	Administrative Units Operating Schools
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	No.
Prince Edward Island—							
1914.....	130,959	64,761	—	—	195,720	—	472
1915.....	143,188	91,258	—	—	234,444	—	475
1916.....	146,825	70,610	—	—	217,435	—	474
1917.....	151,130	72,623	—	—	223,753	—	470
1918.....	145,855	84,273	—	—	230,128	—	465
1919.....	153,459	98,472	—	—	251,931	—	463
1920.....	179,284	131,012	—	—	310,296	—	451
1921.....	206,529	152,431	—	—	358,960	—	450
1922.....	235,012	157,766	—	—	393,778	—	471
1923.....	257,723	202,714	—	Not available	460,437	Not available	468
1924.....	241,921	169,949	—	—	411,870	—	460
1925.....	244,645	167,597	—	—	412,242	—	469
1926.....	242,336	171,650	—	—	413,986	—	469
1927.....	243,745	174,165	—	—	417,910	—	468
1928.....	245,479	179,004	—	—	424,483	—	467
1929.....	245,010	187,709	—	—	433,719	—	469
1930.....	249,247	189,689	—	—	438,936	—	464
1931.....	258,905	189,444	—	—	448,349	—	469
1932.....	263,034	218,477	—	—	481,511	—	474
1933.....	264,210	182,812	—	—	447,022	—	474
1934.....	262,351	165,704	—	—	428,055	—	475
1935.....	264,541	223,922	—	—	488,463	—	474
1936.....	265,723	199,172	—	—	464,895	—	473
New Scotia—							
1914.....	259,332	1,002,967	151,220	—	1,413,519	—	1,705
1915.....	269,050	1,056,392	150,934	—	1,476,376	—	1,728
1916.....	278,439	1,037,302	151,633	—	1,467,374	—	1,736
1917.....	281,714	1,167,907	147,122	—	1,586,743	—	1,736
1918.....	277,920	1,280,965	146,939	—	1,705,824	—	1,721
1919.....	290,566	1,460,577	192,910	—	1,923,053	—	1,783
1920.....	270,612	1,978,243	207,420	—	2,456,275	—	1,636
1921.....	316,383	2,370,712	469,776	—	3,156,871	—	1,665
1922.....	329,452	2,527,377	474,934	Not available	3,331,763	Not available	1,711
1923.....	346,305	2,313,480	496,934	—	3,156,699	—	1,705
1924.....	348,109	2,426,834	495,212	—	3,272,153	—	1,680
1925.....	356,859	2,522,255	493,860	—	3,372,977	—	1,697
1926.....	365,219	2,393,158	497,229	—	3,255,606	—	1,704
1927.....	368,579	2,393,125	497,876	—	3,259,530	—	1,707
1928.....	419,920	2,504,390	497,197	—	3,421,507	—	1,706
1929.....	436,757	2,549,461	495,227	—	3,481,445	—	1,706
1930.....	444,926	2,529,293	494,901	—	3,469,120	—	1,704
1931.....	509,462	2,657,780	493,533	—	3,660,775	—	1,714
1932.....	545,393	2,697,691	490,949	—	3,734,033	—	1,728
1933.....	572,570	2,631,324	487,130	—	3,691,024	—	1,729
1934.....	612,690	2,643,568	478,790	—	3,735,048	—	1,724
1935.....	631,233	2,604,137	483,185	—	3,718,555	—	1,722
1936.....	650,506	2,559,905	482,398	—	3,689,909	—	1,719
New Brunswick—							
1914.....	206,932	704,476	96,496	—	1,007,904	—	1,351
1915.....	212,836	761,753	97,423	—	1,072,011	—	1,393
1916.....	218,879	844,256	96,141	—	1,159,276	—	1,418
1917.....	218,747	843,357	97,284	—	1,159,388	—	1,397
1918.....	216,613	930,567	97,230	—	1,244,410	—	1,397
1919.....	209,206	1,153,163	96,067	—	1,461,465	—	1,307
1920.....	207,287	1,364,915	96,026	—	1,668,228	—	1,313
1921.....	278,005	1,779,526	146,023	—	2,204,554	—	1,291
1922.....	298,439	2,080,023	195,948	Not available	2,574,410	Not available	1,339
1923.....	319,367	2,083,391	204,103	—	2,606,861	—	1,368
1924.....	336,012	2,102,938	213,836	—	2,652,788	—	1,393
1925.....	417,200	2,736,430	211,885	—	3,365,515	—	1,434
1926.....	511,350	2,263,082	213,066	—	2,987,498	—	1,459
1927.....	516,221	2,413,951	212,350	—	3,142,522	—	1,458
1928.....	432,865	2,337,740	212,616	—	2,983,221	—	1,463
1929.....	440,020	2,361,978	214,845	—	3,016,843	—	1,535
1930.....	449,702	2,406,896	212,172	—	3,067,764	—	1,481
1931.....	450,028	2,467,510	210,860	—	3,137,699	—	1,453
1932.....	430,449	2,389,050	214,008	—	3,033,507	—	1,481
1933.....	412,880	2,249,768	219,909	—	2,882,557	4,577,420	1,421
1934.....	426,434	1,922,036	220,063	—	2,568,533	4,966,150	1,476
1935.....	446,472	1,938,568	222,307	—	2,607,347	5,042,950	1,498
1936.....	462,182	1,964,287	223,493	—	2,649,962	4,961,800	1,518

¹Government Grants are for a 14-month period due to a change in the fiscal year.

²Includes contributions to teachers' salaries in the Maritime Provinces, and in New Brunswick, grants made to schools by the Vocational Education Board since 1921.

TABLE 5. Support of the publicly-controlled schools in the provinces, Canada, 1914-1936—Con.

NOTE.—The receipts shown in the following tables do not include any amounts raised by loans, or the sale of bonds or debentures, as all revenue of this nature must be repaid ultimately with money raised by local taxation. With the exception of the Maritime Provinces, for which the information is not available, the total debenture indebtedness of the schools of each province is given annually, thus showing the net increase or decrease per year.

Fiscal Year Ending	Government Grants	Taxation within School Administrative Units ²	School Board Revenue from Counties	Fees ⁴	Total Current Revenue Recorded	Debenture Indebtedness	Administrative Units Operating Schools
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	No.
Quebec—							
1914 ¹							
1915	577,635	5,545,914	—	347,923	6,471,472	17,732,581	1,633
1916	587,264	6,016,965	—	365,281	6,969,510	20,570,354	1,657
1917	612,007	6,547,360	—	416,113	7,575,480	24,152,955	1,698
1918	568,947	6,832,846	—	376,097	7,777,890	28,894,971	1,673
1919	547,760	8,071,627	—	408,070	8,024,457	28,765,596	1,676
1920	617,238	9,897,637	—	449,050	10,875,855	34,173,885	1,718
1921	635,078	11,511,825	—	497,682	12,644,585	36,237,823	1,718
1922	624,564	12,060,555	—	520,498	13,811,617	39,179,020	1,746
1923	781,971	13,334,402	—	600,717	14,717,090	46,841,101	1,764
1924	943,660	14,849,315	—	612,311	16,405,276	46,596,560	1,781
1925	987,805	15,529,353	—	636,261	17,153,419	50,000,971	1,792
1926	993,509	15,647,512	—	630,762	17,271,783	50,413,950	1,800
1927	1,077,073	16,237,999	—	546,725	17,864,797	63,203,161	1,808
1928	1,126,324	16,565,637	—	563,616	18,255,577	57,122,017	1,834
1929	1,189,919	17,029,630	—	566,008	19,385,555	58,962,578	1,840
1930	1,467,502	17,613,082	—	506,735	19,647,319	67,122,017	1,828
1931	1,429,033	18,097,183	—	616,735	20,742,951	65,880,105	1,827
1932	1,269,210	18,214,999	—	632,762	20,117,001	71,669,320	1,830
1933	1,487,116	19,027,988	—	595,235	21,110,339	71,440,847	1,843
1934	1,218,936	19,391,697	—	626,744	21,237,377	76,415,272	1,853
1935	1,137,880	19,002,389	—	595,131	20,735,404	82,919,989	1,859
1936	1,316,019	18,575,530	—	656,854	20,548,403	79,556,117	1,860
Ontario—							
1914	1,062,160	15,601,950	428,330	188,202	17,310,648	25,760,262	—
1915	1,105,061	13,655,456	427,542	193,293	15,360,322	27,994,791	—
1916	1,082,568	12,998,793	452,268	189,380	14,723,003	29,618,908	—
1917	1,158,447	13,941,525	456,693	181,005	15,717,579	30,324,383	—
1918	1,316,289	15,171,982	501,409	215,922	17,205,662	30,696,924	—
1919	1,698,570	16,508,897	498,023	263,894	18,969,384	33,362,213	—
1920	2,414,761	22,051,200	705,124	277,021	25,448,106	40,686,584	—
1921	3,472,667	24,636,792	842,726	217,049	29,169,234	48,863,189	—
1922	4,041,233	27,039,282	1,072,831	134,894	32,288,240	67,413,232	—
1923	4,380,194	28,671,008	1,326,749	156,187	34,534,139	64,268,132	—
1924	4,613,020	30,072,768	1,534,804	105,770	36,326,362	69,891,227	—
1925	4,722,664	30,792,325	1,686,854	114,171	37,316,017	67,920,822	—
1926	4,775,833	30,903,925	1,774,592	151,149	37,605,519	71,061,855	—
1927	4,940,903	32,300,935	1,923,813	143,163	39,308,814	72,388,782	—
1928	5,078,005	34,072,913	2,068,889	392,215	41,612,022	75,088,615	—
1929	5,398,354	36,179,339	2,341,337	357,790	44,270,816	80,353,689	—
1930	5,600,500	39,208,561	2,554,480	314,506	47,678,047	86,551,681	—
1931	6,276,666	39,544,376	3,100,225	430,447	49,351,714	88,781,934	—
1932	6,090,270	37,217,288	2,864,146	—	46,171,710	88,143,815	6,600
1933	5,240,364	35,476,241	2,756,636	—	43,472,241	84,722,797	(approx.)
1934	5,010,385	35,386,482	2,631,561	—	43,028,428	83,068,135	—
1935	4,739,119	33,548,155	2,105,651	—	40,482,922	79,570,591	—
Manitoba—							
1914	390,582	2,673,449	—	—	3,064,031	6,819,013	1,535
1915	468,335	3,047,670	—	—	3,516,005	8,428,400	1,579
1916	503,774	3,296,667	—	—	3,800,441	8,688,599	1,606
1917	522,293	3,445,239	—	—	3,967,532	8,986,175	1,659
1918	616,977	3,730,452	—	—	4,353,429	9,793,018	1,692
1919	589,147	4,200,519	—	—	4,789,666	8,255,573	1,765
1920	661,981	4,947,186	—	—	5,609,167	8,480,960	1,785
1921	822,186	6,022,804	—	—	7,745,050	10,453,085	1,816
1922	1,058,292	7,991,517	—	—	8,049,809	13,325,873	1,792
1923	1,011,048	8,173,986	—	—	9,185,034	13,496,839	1,763
1924	1,096,010	7,468,737	—	—	8,564,747	13,687,574	1,851
1925	1,143,405	7,450,022	—	—	8,593,427	14,554,755	1,831
1926	1,091,151	7,302,044	—	—	8,393,195	14,790,474	1,862
1927	1,110,575	7,365,798	—	—	8,476,373	14,730,128	1,868
1928	1,191,924	7,555,561	—	—	8,747,485	15,104,675	1,885
1929	1,208,809	7,611,029	—	—	8,819,838	15,257,885	1,892
1930	1,285,898	7,821,958	—	—	9,107,856	15,067,103	1,920
1931	1,310,587	7,675,879	—	—	8,986,466	15,006,967	1,938
1932	1,299,625	8,834,536	—	—	8,134,161	15,854,034	1,944
1933	1,207,836	6,029,404	—	—	7,237,240	15,611,523	1,943
1934	1,124,876	5,492,877	—	—	6,617,753	15,579,826	1,966
1935	1,042,824	6,016,858	—	—	7,069,682	15,457,253	1,948
1936	988,434	5,635,473	—	—	6,623,907	14,502,013	1,902

¹The Ontario figures include the Township Grant towards the salary of rural public school teachers. In the rural municipalities of Manitoba about three-fifths of the school support is equalized by a uniform school rate levied over the whole municipality.

²In Ontario, from 1921 to 1930 nothing is included for Continuation Schools, and in the years 1924-27 nothing for High Schools and Collegiates.

⁴Figures for 1914 not available.

TABLE 5. Support of the publicly-controlled schools in the provinces, Canada, 1914-1936—Con.

Fiscal Year Ending	Government Grants	Taxation within School Administrative Units	School Board Revenue from Counties	Fees	Total Current Revenue Recorded	Debtenture Indebtedness ^a	Administrative Units Operating Schools
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	No.
Saskatchewan—							
1914.....	920,000	4,589,000	-	-	5,509,000	6,885,710	3,073
1915.....	1,050,645	4,121,000	-	-	5,171,645	7,555,423	3,385
1916.....	1,046,807	4,329,000	-	-	5,375,807	8,145,756	3,629
1917.....	1,187,653	5,107,000	-	-	6,294,653	7,394,230	3,816
1918.....	1,253,283	5,796,971	-	-	7,050,254	8,334,123	3,963
1919.....	1,339,019	7,385,471	-	-	8,724,490	9,962,375	4,183
1920.....	1,337,067	9,149,253	-	-	10,486,320	11,465,335	4,177
1921.....	1,491,610	9,973,725	-	-	11,465,335	12,882,244	4,289
1922.....	1,971,139	10,485,864	-	-	12,457,003	11,890,582	4,331
1923.....	1,834,036	10,510,840	-	-	12,344,876	12,178,045	4,343
1924.....	2,074,960	10,430,107	-	-	12,504,827	11,034,870	4,394
1925.....	2,129,745	10,400,784	-	-	12,590,529	12,043,540	4,458
1926.....	2,265,481	10,696,154	-	150,194	13,111,829	11,993,064	4,525
1927.....	2,340,536	10,896,918	-	197,246	13,434,700	13,090,426	4,567
1928.....	2,402,621	11,367,519	-	208,442	13,978,582	13,321,936	4,643
1929.....	2,326,700	11,642,530	-	228,574	14,597,854	14,113,091	4,704
1930.....	2,763,903	10,670,745	-	215,294	13,649,942	15,659,373	4,783
1931.....	2,704,242	8,114,719	-	196,525	11,015,486	15,945,934	4,796
1932.....	1,919,153	6,870,606	-	142,381	8,932,140	15,726,862	4,802
1933.....	1,597,240	5,959,179	-	156,891	7,713,310	14,385,183	4,880
1934.....	1,593,706	6,005,000	-	163,575	7,557,281	14,130,229	4,910
1935.....	1,613,960	6,075,000	-	156,394	7,845,354	13,526,765	4,923
1936.....	1,638,417	6,307,000	-	161,487	8,106,904	-	4,938
Alberta—							
1914.....	507,682	3,028,778	-	1,169	3,537,626	11,027,378	2,027
1915.....	540,235	3,735,323	-	7,010	4,280,568	10,887,922	2,138
1916.....	553,141	3,749,008	-	7,646	4,309,795	10,557,892	2,170
1917.....	987,170	3,657,511	-	8,637	4,653,318	10,109,278	2,495
1918.....	625,830	5,132,232	-	14,527	5,772,589	10,039,067	2,706
1919.....	713,083	5,601,713	-	19,148	6,333,944	10,175,446	2,790
1920.....	885,524	6,894,401	-	24,810	7,804,735	10,470,488	2,826
1921.....	1,146,722	7,432,936	-	39,456	8,619,114	11,006,300	2,861
1922.....	1,241,518	7,475,582	-	48,650	8,765,750	11,430,451	2,995
1923.....	1,117,023	8,282,650	-	71,613	9,471,286	11,444,180	3,034
1924.....	1,054,733	8,327,327	-	94,963	9,477,023	11,064,424	3,033
1925.....	1,084,879	8,107,098	-	105,651	9,397,628	10,894,256	3,041
1926.....	1,137,638	8,241,715	-	111,777	9,491,130	10,704,684	3,124
1927.....	1,218,572	8,901,979	-	113,869	10,234,413	10,574,633	3,202
1928.....	1,321,158	9,270,494	-	126,744	10,727,396	10,950,461	3,242
1929.....	1,355,962	9,410,440	-	142,290	10,917,698	11,833,631	3,314
1930.....	1,593,995	8,854,951	-	153,932	10,602,878	12,637,146	3,346
1931.....	1,511,776	8,931,880	-	155,548	10,599,204	12,026,157	3,395
1932.....	1,675,229	8,366,781	-	151,586	10,193,596	11,541,291	3,451
1933.....	1,587,799	7,073,762	-	134,489	8,796,050	11,074,602	3,428
1934.....	1,444,705	7,989,630	-	118,514	9,551,849	10,466,837	3,449
1935.....	1,432,085	7,439,823	-	141,340	9,063,248	9,883,239	3,492
1936.....	1,369,238	7,540,419	-	134,475	9,068,132	9,359,594	3,542
British Columbia—							
1914.....	1,094,845	2,749,223	-	-	4,444,068	9,089,359	374
1915.....	1,416,600	2,309,795	-	-	3,726,395	9,117,539	410
1916.....	1,386,162	1,625,028	-	-	3,011,190	No record	419
1917.....	1,402,560	1,637,539	-	-	3,040,099	8,918,864	432
1918.....	1,452,858	1,965,218	-	-	3,318,076	9,144,904	575
1919.....	1,540,328	2,437,566	-	-	3,983,894	9,092,856	582
1920.....	1,748,419	3,314,246	-	-	5,062,065	9,687,245	636
1921.....	2,156,748	4,238,457	-	-	6,395,205	10,368,144	665
1922.....	2,290,632	4,601,840	-	-	6,892,472	10,455,349	716
1923.....	2,305,064	4,453,323	-	-	6,758,387	10,967,450	744
1924.....	2,305,946	5,023,301	-	-	7,329,247	10,904,262	760
1925.....	2,371,728	5,105,418	-	-	7,477,146	11,322,590	760
1926.....	2,380,668	5,095,420	-	-	7,476,088	12,101,417	746
1927.....	2,568,326	5,769,788	-	-	8,338,114	13,259,740	761
1928.....	2,602,384	5,728,576	-	-	8,420,960	14,028,743	788
1929.....	2,926,762	7,384,075	-	-	10,310,837	15,813,616	792
1930.....	2,719,106	6,384,639	-	-	8,864,045	15,633,508	803
1931.....	2,856,376	6,226,661	-	-	8,683,037	15,936,755	811
1932.....	3,080,566	5,704,260	-	-	8,793,826	15,592,820	831
1933.....	2,302,047	6,091,525	-	-	8,393,572	15,448,396	827
1934.....	2,053,762	5,601,431	-	-	7,655,193	15,233,204	827
1935.....	2,175,619	5,623,115	-	-	7,798,734	14,922,884	762
1936.....	2,270,466	5,502,969	-	-	8,073,435	14,631,539	773

^aIn Saskatchewan the debtenture indebtedness of the secondary schools is not included until 1922.

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